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# The Ecclesiastical Review

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## CONTENTS

SOME NOTES ON CHRIST'S CHURCH IN BULGARIA ..... 389
The Very Rev. F. OSWALD DONNELLY, C.P., Roustchouk, Bulgaria.

THE ONE SACRIFICE ..... 404
The Right Rev. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, D.D., Bishop of Victoria, B. C., Canada.

MORAL THEOLOGY IN THE SEMINARY CURRICULUM ..... 419
The Very Rev. JOHN B. PETERSON, S.T.L., Brighton Seminary, Boston, Mass.

AN ALTARPIECE OF SAINT HUMILITY. (With Illustrations) ..... 429
MONTGOMERY CARMICHAEL, Livorno, Italy.

THE RULE OF SAINT COLUMBAN ..... 445
GEORGE METLAKE, Cologne, Germany.

THE FACULTY OF ABSOLVING PASSIVE MEMBERS OF SECRET SOCIETIES 470

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION OF THE RUTHENIAN BISHOP FOR THE UNITED STATES ..... 473

MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS AS DIOCESAN CONSULTORS ..... 474

MARRIAGE DISPENSATIONS ACCORDING TO THE NEW LEGISLATION ..... 475
Fr. STANISLAUS, O.F.M.

VALIDITY OF CIVIL MARRIAGE FOR CATHOLICS ..... 479
The Rev. JOSEPH SELINGER, S.T.D., Jefferson City, Missouri.

EPISCOPAL COATS OF ARMS. A REPLY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. JOHN'S 486
PIERRE DE CHAIGNON LA ROSE, Cambridge, Mass.

THE ENGLISH TE DEUM ..... 492
The Rev. H. T. HENRY, Litt.D., Overbrook Seminary, Pennsylvania.

CEPHAS—PETER ..... 494
The Rev. THOMAS á KEMPIS REILLY, O.P., Washington, D.C.

CONTENTS CONTINUED INSIDE

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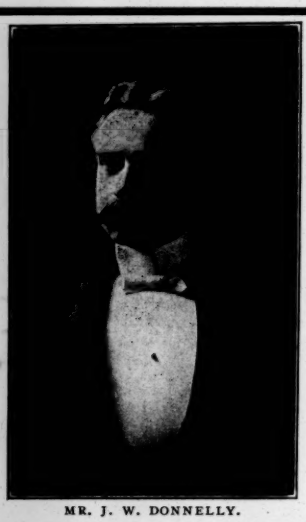

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CONTENTS CONTINUED

ANALECTA:

S. Congregatio Rituum:

Decretum de Vigiliis ad Reliquias Martyrum persolvendis in Nocte ante Dedicationem Ecclesiae ..... 467

S. Congregatio S. Officii (Sectio de Indulgentiis):

Decretum Indulgentia jam concessa Fidelibus se invicem Salutantibus per Invocationem Nominis Iesu, etiam Mariae adjecto Nomine manet ..... 468

Apostolica Delegatio Statuum Foederat. Americae Septentrionalis:

Extensio Facultatis circa Societates Secretas ..... 468

Roman Curia:

List of Recent Pontifical Appointments ..... 469

STUDIES AND CONFERENCES:

Our Analecta—Roman Documents for the Month ..... 470

The Faculty of Absolving Passive Members of Secret Societies ..... 470

Extension of Jurisdiction of the Ruthenian Bishop for the United States 473

Members of Religious Orders as Diocesan Consultors ..... 474

Marriage Dispensations according to the New Legislation (*Fr. Stanislaus, O.F.M.*) ..... 475

Validity of Civil Marriage for Catholics. (*The Rev. Joseph Selinger, S.T.D., Jefferson City, Mo.*) ..... 479

The Archbishop of St. John's Criticism of Episcopal Arms. A Reply. (*Pierre de Chaignon la Rose, Cambridge, Mass.*) ..... 486

The English Te Deum. (*The Rev. H. T. Henry, Litt.D., Overbrook Seminary, Pa.*) ..... 492

Cephas–Peter. (*The Rev. Thomas à Kempis Reilly, O.P., Immaculate Conception College, Washington, D. C.*) ..... 494

CRITICISMS AND NOTES:

Lattey: The New Testament. Vol. III. St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches. Part I. The Epistles to the Thessalonians ..... 498

Ould: The Book of Hymns with Tunes ..... 500

——: Vesperale Romanum ..... 503

Sandeman: Social Renewal ..... 503

O'Malley: The Cure of Alcoholism ..... 505

——: Vox Temporis ..... 507

Wernz: Jus Decretalium ..... 507

Schaefer-Brossart: Mary, the Mother of Jesus, in Holy Scripture ..... 508

Seeboeck: Maria, die Liebe und Wonne des Menschengeschlechtes ..... 508

Hurter: Nomenclator Literarius Theologiae Catholicae ..... 509

Tanquerey–Quevastre—Hebert: Brevior Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae ..... 510

LITERARY CHAT ..... 511

BOOKS RECEIVED ..... 514

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# THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX.—(XLIX).—OCTOBER, 1913.—No. 4.


## SOME NOTES ON CHRIST'S CHURCH IN BULGARIA.

"Sancta Ecclesia electorum floribus plena, habet in pace lilia, in bello rosas."
*Office of Bulgarian Martyrs, composed by St. Gregory the Great.*

THE war between the valiant Bulgarians and the feeble power of Constantinople was a striking instance of history repeating herself. Fourteen centuries ago, a band of Bulgars made their appearance on the Byzantine frontier.[1] They had come from the frigid banks of the Volga. Crossing the Danube, the northern boundary of the Greek Empire, they invaded and proclaimed themselves conquerors of the two Moesias and the greater part of Thrace. Anastasius, the Monophysite, was then Emperor of Constantinople. Absorbed in the theological disputes of that time, his least care was his army; and so, when those northern hordes attacked his empire, the Greek army was unprepared to meet them. Anastasius offered the Bulgars gold if they would but depart from his realm; they scornfully refused it, and pushed on toward Constantinople. Their march must have been slow, for the Emperor had time to construct a long and massive wall, which stretched from the Black Sea to the south of Silivri—a little to the west of the site now occupied by the famous Chatalja

[1] "Les Bulgares, comme la plupart des peuples établis anciennement sur les bords du Volga, doivent appartenir à la race finnoise. Quand ils se portèrent à la fin du cinquième siècle vers le Danube, ils n'emigrèrent pas tous. Au contraire, la plus grande parti restat dans son ancienne patrie, qui fut connue au X siècle, par les écrivains byzantins, sous le nom de Bulgarie Noire, ou bien, de grande Bulgarie." *La Bulgarie ancienne et moderne*, par André Papadopoulo Vretos; St. Petersburg, 1856.

lines.[2] This wall saved his capital. The Bulgars, unable to scale it, were rebuffed, but not vanquished. One may say, in passing, that since that check given so many centuries ago, the constant *rêve* of the Bulgarians has been to enter Constantinople: to succeed where their forefathers failed. But they have humiliated and laid low the pride and power of Byzantium once and again. In 680, the Emperor Constantine Pogonate was forced to conclude an ignominious peace with them, and to pay an annual tribute to their chief. Again, 25 July, 808, the Bulgar Kniaz Crum, meeting his enemy, the Emperor Nicephor, face to face in battle at Preslaff, laid hold on him, and with his own hand beheaded the Byzantine monarch. At the Battle of Adrianople in 812 the same Crum put to flight the Emperor Michael Rangabe, Nicephor's son-in-law.

But the hero of the Bulgarians is King Boris. Boris, whom they have canonized, though, truth to say, many of his deeds of piety savor of the religious fanaticism of a Moslem mollah rather than of a heroic follower of the gentle and merciful Jesus of Nazareth.[3] It was during his reign that Christianity was embraced by the Bulgars. Doubtless their frequent contact with the Greeks, then Catholics, had led some of them to enter the true fold; but the nation remained pagan till 864 when Boris himself received baptism. Many are the legends as to the cause of this conversion. The most popular amongst the Bulgarians themselves is this: Boris, passionately attached to his dogs, asked St. Methodius, then a simple monk passing through Bulgaria, and who was known to possess the art of painting, to portray his favorites. St. Methodius depicted instead the Last Judgment, and King Boris, affrighted by the majestic anger of the Divine Face, demanded its meaning. Methodius explained: God's grace descended and Boris was

[2] This wall extended from the Black Sea to the south of Silivri. Its length was 45 English miles by 20 ft. in width.

[3] Boris, infuriated because fifty-two of his Boyars or Chiefs refused to embrace Christianity, ordered them and their families to be massacred. *Histoire de Photius, Patriarche de Constantinople,* "d'après les documents originaux, la plupart encore inconnue, par l'abbé Jager." Many years after his conversion, Boris abdicated in favor of his son Valdimir, and entered a monastery; but hearing that his son was an enemy of Christianity, he left his cloister, and reascended his throne. His first act was to tear out the eyes of Valdimir, whom he afterward exiled. After which, his soul in peace, he returned to his monastery. *L'Europe et le Saint Siège,* p. 1: *Les Bulgares.*

converted. He received baptism at the hands of a Greek bishop on Christmas Day, 864.

Two year later the Bulgarian king sent an embassy to the Sovereign Pontiff, Nicholas I, to ask for some bishops and priests of the Latin Rite for his people; and at the same time, placed his kingdom under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. The embassy reached Rome in August of 866.[4] But it is evident that Boris in sending this mission was not prompted by any sentiment of preference for Rome against Constantinople. The fact is that he had asked Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to form a hierarchy in Bulgaria; the latter, considering the Bulgars too young in the Faith to possess such an honor, refused. The king, impatient to have his hierarchy, dispatched the embassy to Rome. Pope Nicholas I sent him two bishops, Formoso of Porto and Paul of Populonia, and, doubtless, some priests. The Bulgarians were converted *en foule*. Boris gave complete liberty to Bishop Formoso to organize the young Bulgarian Christianity. On the ruins of ancient pagan temples consecrated churches were raised to the honor of the one True God; and throughout Bulgaria the Greek gave place to the Latin Rite, Bishop Formoso persuading the king to expel the priests of the Oriental Rite from his kingdom, for these being married, found little favor in the eyes of the austere Roman prelate.

Boris's next ambition was to have Formoso for archbishop. He greatly admired him, and believed that with so capable a man as head of his ecclesiastical hierarchy the Bulgarian church would raise herself to the first rank, perhaps would eclipse Byzantium and its learned patriarch. Was Formoso a party to this intrigue? History accuses him of it.[5] It was even for this intrigue, it would seem, that Pope Nicholas I recalled him to Rome. Before his departure from Bulgaria, solemn oaths were interchanged by Boris and Formoso—Boris swearing that he would accept no other archbishop but Formoso; Formoso swearing that he would return as such.[6] The result of this imprudent oath was that for nearly a year King Boris persisted in demanding his favorite from the Holy See, while Pope Adrian II continued to refuse him.

[4] *Vita Nicolai.* Liber Pontificalis. Edited by Mgr. Duchesne, V. II.
[5] Sententia in Formosum. [6] Ibidem.

Lapôtre writes: "On the 23rd of September, 867, the Emperor Michael (of Constantinople) fell under the poignard of the armed assassins of Basil, who succeeded him; and who inaugurated an active and capable policy. Beginning in the imperial palace, the reformation extended even to the patriarchate, where Photius, *mal vu* by the new emperor, was forced to retire before his former rival, the holy but too obliging Ignatius. Basil knew the ecclesiastical ambitions of his Bulgarian neighbor, and finding in his patriarch a docile instrument, engaged to furnish the desired archbishop.[7] The Patriarch Ignatius sent the archbishop and some bishops of the Greek Rite.[8] Rome was indignant. Pope John VIII by repeated letters and menaces tried to rally Boris to his allegiance with the Mother Church; but the latter closed his ears to the prayers and threats of the Sovereign Pontiff. John, fearing to lose forever the fealty of the Bulgarian nation, sent two legates to Ignatius to threaten him with deposition if he did not recall the Greek bishops and priests, whom he had sent to Bulgaria; but when they arrived at Constantinople, the too docile patriarch was already dead, and Photius, reconciled with the Emperor Basil, had retaken possession of the patriarchal see.

The second coming of the Greek clergy amongst the Bulgars was the beginning of their religious misfortune. They were not yet heretical nor schismatical; but, living under the malign influence of the Byzantine patriarchs, they followed them in all their spiritual wanderings. More than once, and notably in the thirteenth century, the Bulgarian kings and chiefs expressed their desire to return to the bosom of the Roman Church; unfortunately, they never realized it. Boris began this lamentable aberration; the Czars Kalo-Joannes in 1200, and Ivan I in 1210, continued it. The Bulgars had contracted what Lapôtre terms "le mal byzantin," that is, the passion for religious autonomy. Educated at the schools of Byzantium, the Bulgarian chiefs could not understand the religious organization of an independent country that was not

[7] *L'Europe et le Saint-Siège.* Première partie. Le Pape Jean VIII. Les Bulgares, par A. Lapôtre, 5, 7.

[8] The sending of an archbishop and some bishops to Bulgaria by Ignatius is attested by Pope Adrian II. Migne, t. CXXII.

entirely free from all foreign jurisdiction. The history of the first Bulgarian Empire to its fall in 1019 is hardly anything else than the pursuit of this ideal. Through the fault of Boris and his successors, the Bulgarians found themselves enmeshed in the capricious and culpable changes of the patriarchs of Constantinople. Soon their misfortunes became extreme. In 1055, Leo, Archbishop of the Bulgarian primatial see of Ochrida, drew them into the schism of Michael Caerularius. The Sovereign Pontiffs protested, but in vain.

In spite of the fact that the vast majority of the Bulgarian nation had been blindly lead astray from, or rather robbed of, the Faith, the remembrance of the Mother Church remained amongst them. From time immemorial there had been Catholics of the Latin Rite side by side of those of the Slavic Rite in the Balkan Peninsula. The correspondence of Basil, Archbishop of Tirnovo; of Czar Kalo-Joannes with Pope Innocent III; the reigns of the first two Assans at Viddin; the coronation of Ivan I Assan at Tirnovo in 1196 by the Papal delegate, Cardinal Leon, attest this.

In 1389, Amurath I, grandson of Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, conquered the south of Macedonia and Greece. The valiant Christians on the other side of the Balkans, Bulgars, Serbs, and Bosnians, trembled for their independence, and took up arms against the infidel intruder. At first, their efforts were crowned with success and in their first battle they slew 60,000 Turks; but Amurath, strengthened by reinforcements from Asia Minor, attacked them fiercely at Sophia, and a few weeks afterward, in the famous battle of the Field of the Blackbirds, in the plains of Kussovo, literally mowed down the flower of the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Bosnian youth. He paid dearly for his victory; for as he stood proudly contemplating the battlefield strewn with its thousands of dead, a noble Serbian, Michael Kobilovitch, who had been mortally wounded, raised himself from his place amongst the dead, as by a superhuman effort, and plunged his dagger into Amurath's heart. This battle left Bajazet, Amurath's son, master of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia. The new sultan's intention was to cross immediately the Danube and attack the Wallachians and Moldavians; but he was called away to Asia Minor to quell an insurrection there. With him on this ex-

pedition he took as a hostage Manuel, the son of the Emperor John Paleologue, whom his father Amurath had defeated in Adrianople in 1363. The rôle was galling to Manuel's pride, and at the first opportunity he escaped to Brussa. There he heard of his father's recent death. He was captured and put under arrest by Bajazet's orders, but again escaped, this time to Constantinople, where he assumed the imperial crown. But fearing the fury of Bajazet, he appealed to the Princes of Europe to come to his aid, and save his empire and the Christian peoples of the Orient. His appeal was answered. The King of Hungary, Sigismund, with a powerful army, sailed down the Danube to Nicopolis, where he was joined by a brilliant company of French under the command of Marshal de Boucicault and the Count of Nevers, John the Fearless. Nicopolis, a recent conquest of the Turks in Bulgaria, was their strongest fortress on the Danube. Bajazet hastened thither from Asia Minor. When the envoys of Sigismund and John the Fearless called on him to surrender, his answer was: "Go tell your masters that I will subjugate Hungary and make myself master of Germany, and will drag after me, in my triumph, the Emperor of the Greeks. Rome shall see me within her walls, and my horse eat his oats at the altar of St. Peter's." With the armies which they possessed, the Christians should have vanquished Bajazet, but the Hungarians fought badly, and finally took to flight. The French attacked courageously, but with the same blind impetuosity which had lost them Crécy and Poitiers. The majority of them were cut to pieces, and many of them taken prisoners. After the battle, the sultan ordered all to be slaughtered, excepting John the Fearless, Marshal de Boucicault, and a few others from whom he demanded an exorbitant ransom.[9]

In this memorable battle fell Sishim, the last emperor of the Bulgars.

This war decided the lamentable fate of Bulgaria for nearly five hundred years. During this period she was held in bondage to the cruel and capricious will of the Sublime Porte. The lot of the Catholics there was bitter indeed. The Pravoslavs, as the schismatics call themselves, had some kind

[9] *Histoire de l'Europe.* Première partie. La fin du moyen âge. Par M. l'Abbé Gagnol, 1897.

of protectors in their time-serving Greek prelates, who for their own material interests shielded their Bulgarian diocesans as far as lay in their power from the brutal persecution of the Turkish officials. True, they were not always successful, and the blood of the Pravoslavs crimsoned again and again the green plains of Bulgaria.[10] But the Catholics were utterly forlorn. The last Catholic bishop who had had a residential see in Bulgaria before the downfall of that empire was Joachim of Tirnovo (1274-1291). Their priests had disappeared; in all probability, many of them had been martyred, whilst others had fled. Occasionally, in the midst of a thousand dangers, some prelate or priest[11] came from the West to minister to them, and too often found the wretched Catholics in slavery, or being cruelly pursued by the Turks. There was not a Catholic church in all Bulgaria.[12]

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Pope Clement VIII confided the mission of Bulgaria to the Franciscans. They fixed their headquarters at Sophia, and one of them, Father Peter Budi, a Bosnian, was nominated Bishop of that city. Paul V himself consecrated him in 1610. Under Bishop Budi's zealous direction, the Franciscan Fathers evangelized the entire country. Their first care was, of course, for the few brave Catholics, who

*Corde impavido mens bene conscia*

had clung to the faith of their fathers. But the special work of the missionaries was the conversion of the Paulicians or, as

[10] To give one of many instances. During the Turkish festival of Bairam, 1829, 10,000 Pravoslavs with 400 monks of Mount Rilo monastery were done to death by the inhuman Turks. (*Nashite Pavlikani*, by Dr. L. Miletitch of Sophia University, page 96.)

[11] In 1565, Archbishop Ambrose, O.M., of Antivari visited the Catholics of Bulgaria. His visit was followed in 1580 by that of Bishop Peter Cedulino of Nona, who found two priests here, one a Franciscan, the other a Dominican. Both were in prison for the Faith. From there they wrote to the Apostolic Visitor—their letter is dated 16 October, 1580—asking him for certain faculties in order to confess their Catholic fellow-prisoners. *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab a. 1565 usque ad a. 1799*, p. 2.

[12] Excepting the private oratories of some Ragusian merchants, who had the privilege of trading in Bulgaria. These merchants had their residences in the principal towns, which were then as now, Sophia and Philippopoli; Roustchouk and Tirnovo; Varna and Silistria. The oratories were served by priests from the archdiocese of Ragusa.

they are called here, the Pavlikani.[13] Paulicianism was a branch of the Manichean heresy. The Emperor Zimisces (969-75), on the suggestion of the Patriarch of Antioch of that time, dispersed the Paulicians, whom he had found in great numbers in Armenia, into different countries, thinking thereby to destroy them. The contrary happened. A colony of them had been banished to Thrace in the neighborhood of Philippopoli; whence they spread over the entire Balkan Peninsula, extending from here to Italy and France, where they were known at the beginning of the thirteenth century in Northern Italy under the name of Patarini, and in the south of France under that of Cathars or Albigenses.[14] The Bulgarian Paulicians were as ripe fruit ready to be plucked by the first zealous hand that desired to gather them. They were not Christians, but they considered their doctrine superior to that of the Koran, and few of them embraced Islamism. The fact that, though living in its midst, they did not seek entrance into the Pravoslavic church points markedly to the want of zeal in the prelates and priests of that faith. When Bishop Budi and his band of apostolic missionaries presented themselves amongst them, the Paulicians welcomed them joyfully, and whole villages were converted to the Catholic faith. But one is not to suppose that this conversion was easy to them: the change from practical paganism to practical Catholicity is great. God's grace and the thoughtful treatment of the Franciscan missionaries strengthened the Paulicians to make it.

Bishop Peter Deodatus Baksic (1641-1676) continued the splendid work of his saintly predecessor. Churches, schools

[13] "I Pauliciani trovansi generalmente classificati essi pure tra i manichei, ma non si e mancato di osservare che, sebbene la loro eresia fosse dualista, il fondo dei loro errori li costituirebbe piuttosto una delle tante varianti dello gnosticismo. E probabile che questi Pauliciani prende essero il nome di S. Paolo; il che si deduce principalmente perche essi vantavansi di possederne la scienza, e perche preferivano le lettre di questo Apostolo a tutta la sacra Scrittura. Questa setta ebbe forma ed esistenza speciale per opera di un tal Costantino Silvano, uomo dei diutorni di Samosata, sotto l'imperio di Costantino Pogonato, o sia nella seconda meta del secolo settimo."—*Enciclopedia dell'ecclesiastico d'avino*, Vol. III, p. 745.

[14] Muratori (*Antiquit. Ital. Med. Aevi*), v. 83; Mosheim, *Versuch einer Ketzergeschichte*, p. 369; Gibbons, X, pp. 77 ff.; and others, such as Bossuet, Maitland, Schmidt, etc.; all hold that the Cathars or Albigenses were one and the same as the Graeco-Slav Paulicians. Hahn (*Geschichte der neo-manichäischen Ketzer*, p. 262) says that in France and Italy the Cathars also went by the name of Paulicians.

and monasteries were built, and numerous ecclesiastical students—many of whom were the sons of converted Paulicians —were sent to Italy to complete their studies at the Illyrican College of Loreto. Chiprovitz,[15] Copilovitz, and Zelesna, important centres, possessed Franciscan monasteries. The mission was admirably administered, but at the price of infinite pains, due to the exactions of the Turks. During the very first year of his episcopate, Mgr. Baksic realized the inadequacy of one bishop for all Bulgaria, Wallachia and Moldavia,[16] and petitioned Rome to erect new bishoprics.

On their arrival in this country, to which they afterward gave their name, the Bulgarians destroyed several episcopal towns,—amongst others, those of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis.[17] The pastors of those sees had sat without doubt at the Councils of Nice (325), Sardica (347), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431). Rome in answer to Mgr. Baksic's demand restored these two dioceses. Marcianopolis was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see without suffragans, with residence at Silistria. The bishopric of Nicopolis was restored in May, 1648, and the first prelate to occupy it after its restoration by Pope Innocent X was Mgr. Philip Stanislavof, a Bulgarian secular priest. The selection proved an unfortunate one.[18]

[15] It was at Chiprovitz that Bishop Baksic, then coadjutor of Sophia, dared, after so many years of desolation, to erect a tabernacle in which to conserve the most Holy Eucharist. One will read with pious interest the few lines which record this event. They are taken from the Bishop's *relatio* of his pastoral visitation, addressed to Propaganda. "Si conserva il ssmo sacramento nella custodia o tabernacolo fatto di ligno ed indorato con la chiave, e sempre arde la lampada, e questo mai non e stato in questi paesi, ma io per Iddio gratia anno passato l'ho fatto fare, ed ho messo il santissimo sacramento alli io di Luglia, 1639." Alas! the little sanctuary lamp of Chiprovitz was rudely extinguished by the Turks less than fifty years after, and has never been relit.

[16] "Circa id tempus (1600) erectus est episcopatus Sophiensis, cujus primus titularis consecratus est Petrus a Soli (Solinates) anno 1610. Ipsi et successoritus suis delata est administratio Valachiae, non tamen quasi ad eorum dioecesim pertinentis, sed virtute Brevis peculiaris, dati singillatim, et non sine mora eaque saepe dintroma concessi." Schematis Archidioec. latin. Bucarestiensis, p. 17.

[17] "Au IVe et au Ve siècles, le christianisme était prêché en latin sur le Danube par les évêques tels que Auxentius de Durostorum (Silistrie), Ursatius de Singidunum (Belgrade) et Palladius de Ratiaria (Archter près Viddin). En 458 et 518 les signatures des évêques de Nicopolis, Marcellus et Amantius, sont encore latines." *De l'ancienne liturgie dans la Bulgarie du Nord*, par le Rev. Père Henry Doulcet, C.P., p. 1.

[18] *Les Bulgares-Pauliciens*, par le Dr. L. Miletitch de l'Université de Sophia, pp. 18-19.

In 1688, excited by the reports, true or false, that the Bulgarian Catholics were in league with the Austrians, then at war with Turkey, the Turks threw themselves on the Catholic villages, massacred hundreds of the male population, amongst whom were 30 or 40 priests, destroyed and fired the churches and monasteries, and carried off many women and children into captivity. Some 3,000 Catholics with a few priests succeeded in escaping across the Danube into Wallachia, whence they passed to Temesvar, in Hungary, where they finally settled.[19] As to those who remained in the fatherland, their condition was pitiable. A religious sent by Propaganda in 1708 to minister to them wrote that he had not met a Latin priest from the Danube to the Black Sea. A bishop was consecrated in 1728 for the Bulgarians in the person of Mgr. Nicolas Stanislavich, Franciscan, but the new prelate resided in Hungary, and only his Vicar-General with two secular priests provided, God knows in the midst of what obstacles and hardships, for the spiritual wants of the unfortunate Catholics.

War broke out again in 1810—this time on the very banks of the Danube—between Russia and Turkey. Many of the Bulgarian Catholics fled to Wallachia, but the majority of them escaped death or torture at the hands of the Turks only to fall victims to the plague which began to rage at Bucharest and its environs in that year. This terrible epidemic lasted over two years. All the priests of the Bulgaro-Wallachian Mission, excepting two, succumbed to the awful scourge. The Bishop, Mgr. Francis Ferreri, too, died of it, after having braved its terrors by administering the last sacraments to many of his flock. He passed away, fortified by the last rites of Holy Church, his only surviving priest in Wallachia, Father Fortunatus Ercolani, C.P., assisting him; and was buried on the following day in the parish church of Cioplea, a little town two miles outside of Bucharest, where the Bulgarian Catholic émigrés had temporarily settled. Over his last resting-place, a marble slab records: "Hic jacet Fran-

[19] When Bulgaria was granted her autonomy in 1878 by the treaty of Berlin, many of the descendants of these *refugiés* returned to their forefathers' fatherland. The Bulgarian government granted the newcomers large tracts of land, and also exemption from taxation and military service for seven years.

ciscus Ferrerius, Episcopus Nicopolitanus, Congregationis D. N. J. C.—Patientia magnus, humilitate major, charitate maximus, qui tempore pestis ut pastor bonus animam suam dedit pro ovibus suis. 4 Novembris, 1813." Mgr. Ferreri was a son worthy of St. Paul of the Cross, who doubtless received him into the Passionist Congregation, for he was born in 1740, and St. Paul did not die till 1775. Relinquishing his post as Procurator General of the Congregation in Rome, he came here as a simple missionary in 1781. He worked indefatigably to stamp out the superstitions, even still then practised by the converted Paulicians. Like his brethren in Bulgaria, he suffered much persecution from the Turks, who on one occasion so brutally maltreated him that the tendons of his neck were for ever afterward affected as well as his power of speech. On another occasion they hamstrung him. He bore these afflictions patiently till death, doubtless reckoning himself privileged to have suffered so much for Christ's sake. The Bulgarian historian, Dr. Miletitch of Sophia University speaks highly of Mgr. Ferreri in his work, *Les Bulgares-Paulicians*. His fellow missionaries too have written well of him, emphasizing his love of prayer and spirit of charity. Holy bishop! as a novice on Monte Argentaro he had chosen as his devotion "The Divine Love"—Francis of the Divine Love was his name in religion. For that Divine Love he had consumed hmself and suffered heroically and joyfully twenty-three years of a martyr's life in Bulgaria. At his death, his total wealth amounted to 25 scudi, about £5 in our money, and even this he had already designed for church purposes.

At the beginning of the year 1814, Fr. Fortunatus Ercolani, C.P., was the only Catholic priest in Wallachia, and Don Michel Sancio the only one in Bulgaria.[20]

Two years after, many of the Catholics who had fled to Wallachia in 1810 returned to Bulgaria, where they continued to be ministered to by the priests of the Passionist Congregation, to whom they had been confided by Pope Pius VI in 1781.

[20] Don Mattia Rasdilovik era già passato per missionario nella Moldavia ed in suo luogo dimorava a Trancevitza un certo Don Michele Sancio, Svizzero, ordinato sacerdote a Bucarest da Mons Ferreri, e poi mandato per missionario, e questo fu preservato della peste, e fù il solo missionario, che assisté tutti i catholici di Bulgaria per due anni continui."—From a document preserved in the Archives of SS. John and Paul, Rome.

The missionaries, for the most part, dressed *à la turque*. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated in some private house with doors barred against the possible intrusion of the Turks. Till 1829, one did not dare to leave even a miserable altar of planks in permanency.

The French historian, M. Charles Barthélemy, writes: "It was in one of the most critical moments of his reign that the Sultan Mahmed II provoked Russia by an appeal which he made to the religious fanaticism of his subjects against the Christians. The Czar Nicholas was only waiting for a pretext to declare war against Turkey. This appeal of the Sultan's gave it him. Of all the wars that the Turkish Empire had sustained against Russia, one may say that that of 1829 was the most fatal. After the battles of Silistra and Schumla, the Ottomans suffered a most serious reverse at Kulewtcha. The Russian army passed the defiles of the Balkans and took Adrianople. The danger to his empire was so great that for the first time during his reign Mahmed was seen to fall into dejection and despair. By the treaty of Adrianople (2 September, 1829), he subscribed to all that was asked of him: the independence of Greece, the loss of Moldavia and Wallachia." [21]

Unfortunately, Bulgaria did not share the same blessed privilege; nevertheless, a new era of comparative tranquillity and liberty was accorded her by this famous treaty. The priests and the people made use of it to build those magnificent churches at Lageni, Beleni, Oresce, Trancevitza, etc., which excite the admiration of all who see them. The spiritual life, too, of the Catholics received a new impetus by this liberty. The liturgical offices of the Church were carried out in all their pomp. Missions and retreats were given at regular intervals. The confraternities of the Passion and the "Addolarata" were established in all the churches of the diocese. A number of young girls were formed in each parish, who vowed to live single and attached to the church of their respective village. They catechized the children, nursed the sick, sang in the choir, and cared for the cleanliness and order of their church.

[21] *Histoire de Turquie*, by Charles Barthélemy (de Paris), p. 398.

The Capuchin Fathers came to Bulgaria in 1848, and their superior, Fr. Andrea Canova, was consecrated Vicar-Apostolic for the southern part of the kingdom. The Balkans defined the line of his jurisdiction northward from that of the bishop of Nicopolis, whose vast diocese extends from Serbia to the Black Sea. The Danube forms its northern boundary. The bishops of Nicopolis were also administrators of Wallachia and Moldavia[22] from Mgr. Ferreri's time; but in 1883, Bucharest was created an archbishopric, and Mgr. Ignatius Paoli, C.P., who had ruled Nicopolis from 1870, when Mgr. Joseph Pluym, C.P., was elevated to the Apostolic Delegateship of Constantinople, and was named the first archbishop of the new see. It was in 1878, whilst he was Bishop of Nicopolis, that the ever memorable war was fought between Russia and Turkey, which freed Bulgaria—we trust for ever—from the detestable rule of the Sublime Porte.

The Bulgarian Catholics are only a "little flock". They are no more than 45,000 souls. The wonder is that they are so numerous. Dr. L. Miletitch in his history of the Bulgarian Paulicians tells how, when the Turks were seized by their periodical paroxysms of fanaticism, they literally wiped out entire Christian villages.[23] The population of Bulgaria is 4,500,000; it should be six or seven times that figure, for the Bulgars are a prolific and healthy race. They were decimated time and again by the murderous Mussulmans. Another reason why the Bulgarian Catholics are so few is, as the Rev. Padre Tondini, Barnabite, so justly remarks in his interesting work, *La Russie et l'Union*:[24] "Pour tous les peuples du monde orthodoxe, Slavs, Grecs, Arabes même, l'orthodoxie est un élément constitutif de la nationalité." The late Père Pargoire, Assumptionist, says the same thing in the opening chapter of his *Eglise Byzantine*: "En Orient, la religion a toujours été chose nationale." The Bulgarian Pravoslavs regard their church as an integral part of their nation: they have

[22] Wallachia and Moldavia were formerly Turkish provinces, but by the treaty of Berlin, 13 July, 1878, they were recognized as an independent state, and the territory of the Dobrudja was added to them 26 March, 1881. Under the name of Roumania they were declared a Kingdom.

[23] *Nashite Pavlikani*, p. 96.

[24] *La Russie et l'Union des Eglises*, by C. Tondini de Quarenghi, p. 12.

a *patriotic* love for it. Hence a desertion from it for another church is equivalent to disloyalty to the fatherland. To the present time there have been few converts from it to the Catholic Church, and those few are from the educated class. If the Bulgars could rid themselves of their idea of a national church—*le mal byzantin* of their forefathers; if they could be convinced (which means, in other words, be converted) that the Catholic Church is the Church of Christ, they would seek union with her, I think, at all costs, for they are a straight and honest people. The late Prince Viazemsky (who died last November) made some interesting scientific investigations into the comparative qualities of the Slavonic people. He concludes that the Bulgarians are the healthiest, physically and morally, of all the members of the South-Eastern Slavonic group. "The Bulgarian youths and school children are the best behaved," he says: "the Russians the worst of all. As the Russians and Servians grow up, their capacities degenerate, while those of the Bulgarians improve. In short, the most capable of these peoples are the Bulgarians." De Maistre predicted that the Eastern Slavs would become rationalists rather than Catholics. He spoke, I should say, of the Russians only, whom he knew intimately. No one who has lived for any length of time amongst the Bulgarians could come to that conclusion. They are a deeply religious people. Veneration for things and persons holy and sacred is one of their most striking characteristics. We know, of course, that faith is the free gift of God—that no one can merit it. Nevertheless, it is rarely received by those who are not naturally good. The Bulgars are so.

During the long centuries of their thraldom to Turkey, the Bulgarian Catholics gave of their best to God in martyrdom. They were *rosae in bello*—blood-red roses that fell before the scimitar and knife of the merciless Turk, and whose perfume, God be praised! is wafted to us over the years. But the Church in Bulgaria had, and has her *lilia*, too. I spoke of the maidens in our villages whom our ancient Passionist Fathers trained as lay Sisters of Mercy. Many of them have given proof of heroic virtue. We have our priests and our native clerical youth and our cloistered nuns, whose pure and mortified lives are acknowledged and reverenced by all. Bulgaria's

*récolte* of roses has been gathered; but her lilies still bloom in this little garden of Christ's eternal Church.

OSWALD DONNELLY, C.P., Miss. Apost.

*Roustchouk, Bulgaria.*

## STATUS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BULGARIA.[25]

### I. LATIN RITE.

Bishoprics: The Bishopric of Nicopolis (which is directly subject to the Holy See), and the Vicariate Apostolic of Philippopoli. The Cathedral of Nicopolis is at Roustchouk; that of Philippopoli is in the city of that name. Mgr. Henry Doulcet, C.P., is Bishop of Nicopolis, and Mgr. Robert Mennini, O.S.F.C., is Vicar-Apostolic of Philippopoli.

Parishes: There are 17 parishes in the diocese of Nicopolis and 15 in the Vicariate of Philippopoli. The parishes in the diocese of Nicopolis are served by the Passionist Fathers; those of the Vicariate of Philippopoli by the Fathers of the Capuchin Order. There are also native secular priests in both dioceses.

Hospitals: In Sophia: The Clementine, directed by the Tyrolese Sisters of the Cross; in Philippopoli: Catholic Hospital, directed by the Sisters of Charity of Agram; in Yambol: Dispensary of the Sisters Oblates of the Assumption; in Sistov: Hospital of the Dominican Nuns.

Orphanages: In Sophia: Orphanages (two) in charge of the Sisters of Charity of Agram and the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition; in Philippopoli: Orphanage of the Bulgarian Sisters of St. Francis.

Educational establishments: In Sophia: College of the Brothers of the De la Salle Institute (350 scholars); and parochial schools; in Philippopoli: College of St. Augustine, with commercial department, directed by the Assumptionist Fathers (310 scholars); boarding and day school of the Sisters of the Apparition; parochial schools; in Roustchouk: Seminary, under the presidency of Mgr. Doulcet, C.P., and directed by the Passionist Fathers; boarding school of the Dames de Sion (140 scholars); parochial schools (boys) in charge of the Marist Brothers; (girls) conducted by the Dames de Sion; in Varna: College of St. Michael of the Assumptionist Fathers (120 scholars); boarding and day school directed by the Sisters Oblates of the Assumption (250 scholars); in Burgas: Boarding and day school of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition (150 schol-

[25] Taken from *La Croix de Paris*, 4 December, 1912.

ars); in Yambol: parochial schools in charge of the Assumptionist Sisters.

Missions: In Yambol: Latin and Slavic parish served by the Assumptionist Fathers; in Sliven: Slavic parish served by the same Fathers. In 1903, 70 Bulgarian schismatic families were received into the Catholic Church in this mission.

Catholic Press: *The Franco-Bulgarian Review*, edited by the former students of St. Augustine's College, Philippopoli; *The Pilgrim; Faith and Science,* a high-class review conducted by the Assumptionist Fathers.

II. SLAVIC RITE.

In Bulgaria and in the vilayets of Macedonia and Adrianople.

The Uniat Bulgarian Catholic Church (Slavic Rite) has two Vicariates Apostolic (Macedonia and Thrace), which are under the general jurisdiction of Mgr. Miroff, who resides in Constantinople.

Vicariate of Macedonia. This Vicariate is in charge of the Vincentian Fathers. It counts 30,000 Catholics and 20 parishes; 30 priests of the Slavic Rite; a seminary; 14 boys' and 10 girls' schools; 4 Convents of Bulgarian Sisters; 2 Orphanages; a Training College for Catholic school mistresses directed by the Sisters of Charity. The Vincentian Fathers have a flourishing college at Salonika.

Vicariate of Thrace. It was erected in 1883. Mgr. Petkof is the Vicar-Apostolic. There are 5,000 Catholics; 12 parishes in the vilayet of Adrianople and 6 in Bulgaria; 20 secular priests, 5 Resurrectionist and 6 Assumptionist Fathers. At Adrianople there is a *Petit Seminaire*; a Catholic gymnasium directed by the Fathers of the Resurrection; the College of St. Basil of the Assumptionist Fathers; a boarding and day school directed by the Sisters Oblates of the Assumption. The Hospital of St. Louis in that city is in charge of the same *religieuses*.

## THE ONE SACRIFICE.

I.

INTIMATELY bound up with the question as to the formal constituent of the sacrifice of the Mass is this other question: Did Christ offer two sacrifices, or only one? Was Christ twice offered in sacrifice, or only once? For, if Christ offered two sacrifices, then the formal constituent of the Mass must needs be other than the formal constituent of the Sacrifice of the Cross. But if He offered only one sacrifice, the

formal constituent of the Mass cannot be other than the formal constituent of the Sacrifice of Calvary.

Now both Scripture and Tradition witness to the oneness of the Sacrifice offered by Christ. His sacrifice is always spoken of in the New Testament as one. "Christ also hath loved us and hath delivered Himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God for an odor of sweetness." [1] This offering and sacrifice was the laying down of His life "a ransom for many".[2] The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews rings the changes, if I may say so, on the oneness of Christ's sacrifice. Christ, "now once at the end of the age, hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." [3] "Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin." [4] "But He, when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God".[5] "For by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." [6]

It may be, and indeed has been, said that the Apostle does not in these passages mean to exclude another sacrifice, first offered in the Last Supper and continued in the Mass. By this is meant a sacrifice other than that of Calvary, and this the Apostle certainly does mean to exclude, and does exclude. For throughout this Epistle he is speaking expressly of the priesthood of Christ "forever after the order of Melchisedech". It is of Christ as "Priest forever after the order of Melchisedech" that he says, "by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified". Now without question the sacrifice offered in the Last Supper and continued in the Mass is to be referred to the priesthood of Christ forever after the order of Melchisedech. Therefore, according to the Apostle, it is not other than, but one and the same with, the "one offering" whereby our High Priest "hath perfected forever them that are sanctified".

The same appears from this, that the Sacrifice of the New Law is the Christian Passover, which had its type in the Jewish Passover. But the Christian Passover is one sacrifice, not two sacrifices. "For Christ our Pasch is slain", says the Apostle; and St. John tells us expressly that the

[1] Eph. 5:2. [2] Matt. 20:28. [3] Hebr. 9:26.
[4] Ib., 28. [5] Ib., 10:12. [6] Ib., 14.

typical Pasch of the Jews was fulfilled on Calvary.[7] Therefore the offering made in the Last Supper under the form of unleavened bread was not consummated, and did not constitute our Pasch, till the Lamb was slain on Calvary. The teaching of the New Testament simply excludes the notion that Christ offered two sacrifices, or was offered twice.

So also does Tradition. It is the Tradition of the Catholic Church that the Mass is the continuation, not of the Last Supper simply, but of the Sacrifice of Calvary. In order to realize what this means, let us take a parallel case. It is the teaching of theologians that conservation is continued creation, i. e. is the creative act continued evermore. In other words, creation and conservation are not two acts, but one act continued. Similarly the Mass and Calvary are not two sacrifices, but one sacrifice continued; for the action which made Calvary a sacrifice was put forth once for all in the Last Supper and is continued forever in the Mass. "Our High Priest," says St. John Chrysostom, "it was who offered up that sacrifice which cleanses us. That same sacrifice do we offer up now, which was then offered up—that sacrifice which cannot be exhausted".[8] And again: "This word (hoc est corpus meum) once spoken from that time to the present and unto His coming perfects the sacrifice on every altar."[9]

Again, it is the teaching of the Catholic Church that the Mass is essentially the same as the Sacrifice of Calvary. In essence they are the same, and only differ in non-essentials. Is destruction an essential element of sacrifice? Then, it must be the same in both. Is external or ceremonial offering an essential element of sacrifice? Then, it must be the same in both. Destruction or immolation and ceremonial offering are, in matter of fact, the two essential elements of sacrifice, inasmuch as sacrifice is an act of public worship regulated by the positive divine law. The ceremonial offering is the priest's part in the sacrifice, the immolation the victim's part. The essence of the sacrifice thus includes a twofold element, the action of the priest and the passion of the victim. Both together constitute the essence, the one as formal con-

[7] Ib., 19:36.
[8] In Hebr. hom. 17, n. 3.
[9] Hom. in Prod., Judae, l. 6.

stituent, the other as the material element. Now it is the "form" or formal constituent which determines the specific character of a thing, according to the axiom of the schoolmen, *forma dat esse rei.* In our case the ceremonial offering stamps upon the slaying of an animal the character of a sacrificial immolation, and so differentiates it from the slaying that is done by the huntsman or in the shambles. The ceremonial offering in the Last Supper, therefore, made the death on Calvary a sacrificial immolation, and the Mass is that same ceremonial offering prolonged forever. Hence St. Cyprian declares that "the Passion of the Lord is the Sacrifice that we offer," [10] for this is what the Lord Himself offered in the Last Supper. Our sacrifice cannot be other than His, and He would have us show forth His death till He come.[11]

To St. Ambrose the Mass is "that saving sacrifice whereby the sin of the world is blotted out".[12] To St. Augustine it is "the Sacrifice of our Ransom".[13] To St. Jerome it is "the one Sacrifice of Christ".[14] To St. Leo the Great it is "the one oblation" of Christ's Body and Blood which "takes the place of every different kind of victim".[15] Coming down to the middle age we find Alger the Scholastic affirming that "if our daily sacrifice were other than that once offered in Christ, it would not be true but superfluous;" [16] and Peter the Venerable, that "it is not that a different sacrifice is now offered from that which was then offered, but that whereof it is said, *Christ was offered once,*[17] He hath left to His Church evermore to be offered up"; [18] and Blessed Albert the Great, that our sacrifice is the offering by the hands of the priests of the Victim slain on Calvary; [19] and St. Bonaventure, that it is that sacrifice "pure, pacific, and plenary" which "was offered on the Cross"; [20] and St. Thomas of Aquin, summing up the tradition of preceding ages, that the sacrifice which is offered daily in the Church is not other than that which Christ Himself offered." [21] Then there is the solemn

[10] Ep. lxii., n. 17.
[11] I Cor. 11:26.
[12] *Exhort. Virg.*, c. 14, n. 24.
[13] *Conf.*, l. 9, c. 12, n. 32.
[14] P. L., tom. 25, col. 931.
[15] *Serm.*, 59, c. 7.
[16] P. L., tom. 180, col. 786.
[17] Hebr. 9:28.
[18] Ib., tom. 189, col. 798.
[19] 4 S. D., XIII, a. 23.
[20] Brevil., VI, 9.
[21] IIIa, Q. 22, a. 3, ad 2um.

profession of faith in the Mass as the self-same sacrifice once offered on Calvary, which is contained in the recantation made in the twelfth century by Sotericus Panteugone before a synod of Greek Bishops of the Orthodox Church: "I agree with the holy Synod herein that the sacrifice now to be offered up, and once offered up by the Only Begotten and Incarnate Word, was once offered up, and is now offered up, because it is one and the same." [22] Finally, Holy Church herself in the very act of offering the Mass declares it to be "the spotless evening sacrifice offered up on the Cross for the salvation of the world" (Feast of the Spear and Nails); the sacrifice "by the offering of which Thou didst set the whole world free from the bonds of sin" (*orat. pro uno defuncto*); "the most holy offering of the same sacrifice" offered on the Cross by Jesus Christ "a spotless and willing Victim to God the Father" (Feast of the Spear and Nails).

Here then is a body of teaching, in Scripture and Tradition, regarding the oneness of the Sacrifice of the New Law and the identity of the Mass with that One Sacrifice, which held throughout the Universal Church for fifteen hundred years before the assembling of the Council of Trent. The teaching which reached Trent was that the Mass is not other than the Sacrifice of the Cross, but is the representation and continuation and participation of it. Did the Council depart from that teaching? Assuredly not. The decree of the Council has to be interpreted in the light of the teaching and belief of the Church during the fifteen hundred years that went before. To take the text of the decree by itself and interpret it without reference to the preëxisting body of doctrine would be like taking a text of Scripture, say, "The Father is greater than I," and interpreting it without reference to other texts and the whole context of Scripture. We must guard against thinking that the mind of the Church concerning the great Sacrifice that she offers daily is to be gathered from the decree of Trent alone. That decree is serviceable so far as it goes. But it was no part of the Council's purpose to define precisely wherein lies the sacrificial idea in the Mass. This is shown by the freedom with which

[22] Cf. Moehler's *Symbolism*, p. 233.

theologians have since discussed the point, and the existing conflict of opinion upon it. It may not be amiss to quote here what I have elsewhere written on this subject:

"The Council did not define the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It simply aimed to define as of faith, against the heretical denials of the time, that in the Mass is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice; that the Priest and Victim of Calvary are its Priest and Victim; that it does but apply to men the fruits of the Sacrifice once offered; that to this, therefore, it is not derogatory. When it speaks of the Mass 'this', and of the Cross as 'that', sacrifice, it does but condescend to human modes of conceiving and speaking of things, and apply to things eternal the language of things that are in space and time. It does this without implying that they are really two sacrifices. Outwardly they are two; inwardly they are one. Hence the Council declares that the Mass 'represents', i. e. not only puts before us in symbolic fashion but sets up again or renews the Sacrifice of Calvary, as appears from the words in which the Catechism of the Council reproduces its teaching, 'a visible sacrifice, by which the bloody sacrifice that was a little after to be offered up once on the Cross was to be renewed — *instauraretur*'. Hence also it makes the two differ *only* in the *manner* of offering, which implies a difference, not in essence, but in accidental forms; not in the sacrificial action but in its outward manifestations.[23] Hence, in fine, it teaches that the Mass 'is that sacrifice which was shadowed forth by the various typical sacrifices of the law and of the time before the law', which is true only on condition of its formal identity with the Sacrifice of Calvary. [True, the Council adds, "because, as being the perfection and completion of them all, it comprises all the good things which they signified." But plainly, it is only as being identical with the Sacrifice of Calvary that it can be "the perfection and completion" of all the sacrifices of the law and of the time before the law.]

"For the rest, the interpretation put upon the Council's teaching by the Catechism of the Council may well be taken

[23] Father Gallagher, ECCL. REVIEW, May number, p. 528, renders "ratione offerendi" by "kind of oblation". The gerund "offerendi" does not mean "oblation", and in any case the presence of "only" excludes the notion that the Mass is different in kind from the Sacrifice of the Cross.

as authentic. 'We therefore confess that the sacrifice of the Mass is one and the same with that of the Cross, and so it is to be regarded. It is one and the same Victim, viz., Christ our Lord who offered himself once only a bloody sacrifice on the Altar of the Cross. The bloody Victim and the unbloody are not two victims, but one only, whereof the Sacrifice is daily renewed in the Mass, according to the Lord's command: *Do this for a remembrance of me.*' One Priest, One Victim, One Sacrifice—such has been the faith of the Church in every age." [24]

Even from the brief account given by Pallavicini one gathers that there were long and animated discussions at Trent about the Mass. And the language of the decree no doubt reflects the theological preoccupations of those who drew it up. But there is nothing in the decree itself to imply the mind of the Council to have been that the Mass is really other than the Sacrifice of the Cross, or that they are really two sacrifices. True, the Fathers speak of the one as an "unbloody oblation", of the other as a "bloody one"; of the same Christ being "immolated in an unbloody manner" in the Mass "who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross". But, as we have seen, the Catechism of the Council explains that, as the bloody victim and the unbloody are not two victims, but one only, the Mass is not a new sacrifice of Christ, but the daily renewal upon the altar of the sacrifice once offered upon Calvary. It will not do to lay too much stress on the word "unbloody", as if the meaning were that in the Mass the Blood of Christ is not really offered, for it is really offered, though under the appearance of wine. When the Council speaks of Christ being immolated in an unbloody manner in the Mass, all that it means is that the Blood is not really shed there as it was on Calvary, but only in a mystical manner. Now this mystical shedding of the Blood, being, as I have elsewhere pointed out, wholly relative to the real, the symbol and image of the real, does not constitute an immolation formally distinct from it, seeing that an image does not differ *formaliter* but only *materialiter*, from that of which it is the image. And as in the Mass the

[24] *Religious Questions of the Day*, Vol. III, p. 322.

matter is also the same, for the Victim is the Victim of Calvary, it follows that the unbloody sacrifice differs neither formally nor materially from the bloody, but is, as it has been always and everywhere believed, the self-same. Hence, as the Council teaches, it has no fruits of its own, and does but apply to men the fruits of the Sacrifice once offered on the Cross.

Outwardly the Mass is an unbloody sacrifice; inwardly it is a bloody one, for the Blood of Christ is really offered on the altar. If physical destruction by itself constituted the essence of sacrifice, then the Mass would not at all be a sacrifice, or, at the most, would be a sacrifice of bread and wine. But physical destruction by itself does not constitute the essence of sacrifice; and I do not think it is quite fair for Father Gallagher to give his readers the impression that I so contend, or ever have so contended.[25] Physical destruction by itself affects the victim, whereas the priest, too, plays an essential part in sacrifice. It is the part of the priest to offer the sacrifice, and without this offering the physical destruction would be but the slaying of an animal. The offering by the priest is the formal constituent of the essence ("formal essence" is an unscholastic expression) of sacrifice; it is the action of the sacrifice, and sacrifice is, formally speaking, an action. This, and not merely the bloody immolation on the Cross, is the essential element that makes the Mass a sacrifice. And it is precisely because this action of the Eternal High Priest, once for all put forth in the Last Supper, is still operative in the Mass, or, as St. John Chrysostom has it, "from that time to the present and unto His coming perfects the sacrifice on every altar"—it is, I say, precisely because of this, and for no other reason, that there is formal identity between the Mass and the sacrifice once offered in the Last Supper and on the Cross.

Father Gallagher appears to place the whole essence of sacrifice in the destruction of the victim. As for the further notion that such destruction "is used to signify and express externally our acceptance of annihilation in acknowledgment of our absolute dependence on the infinite power of God,"

[25] Eccl. Review, May, p. 525.

it does not fall within the scope of the present paper to discuss it. But I cannot refrain from saying that there is no reason for believing that God ever will annihilate anything; that it is absurd to think that we could glorify Him by ceasing utterly to be, since it is by continuing to be that we do glorify him; that we cannot therefore suppose God would require us to accept annihilation, nor consequently to offer a substitute for it. But the destruction of the victim, whatever may be the root reason why God requires it, is not the whole essence of sacrifice. In the Old Law, the victim was first slain outside the holy place. Then the priest entered the holy place with the blood of the victim, and offered it there to God. Now, I would ask Father Gallagher: Was the sacrifice done and over when the animal was slain and its blood shed? If so, how could the priest offer the same sacrifice within the holy place? In the case of a sin-offering the priest had no share in the slaying, for the sinner himself it was that slew the animal. The physical immolation was over at the instant of death, and not the less absolutely "gone forever" when the priest went into the sanctuary to offer the sacrifice than the physical immolation of Christ on the Cross is now "gone forever". A point of time is as absolutely past after ten minutes as it is after ten thousand years. And yet the priest of the Old Law was deemed to have offered the sacrifice to God within the holy place, because he handed over there to God in due ritual form the blood of the victim that was slain. And how shall not we priests of the New Law, lending our hands and our voices to Him who is Priest forever after the order of Melchisedech, be deemed to offer still the Sacrifice of our Ransom when we appear daily within the holy place with the Blood of the Victim that blotted out on Calvary the handwriting of the decree that was against us?

II.

In logic we define by genus and difference. A logical definition of sacrifice would thus be: The offering by a priest to God of a victim that is slain. Here "offering" is the genus, and "victim slain" the specific difference, which marks this offering off from other offerings. And as the genus is

material and the specific difference formal in a logical definition, destruction or slaying, viewed as logic views things in a state of abstraction, is the formal constituent of sacrifice. Under the influence of this purely logical view of the matter, theologians have laid all the stress on destruction and made it by itself the essential element of sacrifice. Under the influence of the same idea the present writer composed the first chapter of a little book on this subject published some years ago.[26] But he has since been led to see that sacrifice is not a logical entity, nor yet merely a physical entity, but a liturgical entity. And he is now no longer able to accept the conclusion which is reached in that chapter: viz. "The one offering essential to the being of the sacrifice was the internal act of the priest which directed the slaying of the victim to the worship of God" (p. 31). This is true in a physical sense, and might well be true under the law of nature. But under positive divine law, sacrifice is essentially a rite or ceremony, and the ceremonial offering of the victim is its formal constituent. The constituent elements of a rite are to be gathered from the law which regulates that rite, and the law requires a ceremonial offering of the victim both before and after its immolation, which ceremonial offering, as being the part proper to the priest or official performer of the rite, is necessarily the formal constituent element of it. The theory combated in that first chapter, eliminating destruction, makes ceremonial offering the one essential element, and so sins by default. But in a liturgical point of view, it is much nearer the truth than the theory which places the whole essence of sacrifice in the destruction of the victim.

As Holy Mass is the ceremonial offering to God within the Christian sanctuary of the Victim slain on Calvary, it follows that we are not to look in it for the destruction essential to sacrifice. That was the death of Christ upon the Cross, and "Christ rising from the dead dieth now no more; death hath no more dominion over Him."[27] "There is now no shedding of blood", to quote Cardinal Manning's striking words on the subject in *The Glories of the Sacred Heart*— "that was accomplished once for all on Calvary. The action

[26] *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, the C. P. A. Pub. Co., New York.
[27] Rom. 6:9.

of the Last Supper looked onward to that action on Calvary as the action of the Holy Mass looks backward upon it. As the shadow is cast by the rising sun towards the west, and as the shadow is cast by the setting sun towards the east, so the Holy Mass is, I may say, the shadow of Calvary, but it is also the reality. That which was done in the Paschal Supper in the guest-chamber, and that which is done upon the altar in the Holy Mass, is one and the same act—the offering of Jesus Christ Himself, the true, proper, propitiatory, and only Sacrifice for the sin of the world" (The Last Will of the Sacred Heart).

In their excellent *Manual of Catholic Theology*, Wilhelm and Scannell remark upon the painful efforts of theologians to inflict a species of death upon the Divine Victim in the Mass. Such efforts proceed upon two assumptions, both false and untenable, as I have pointed out; first, that the Mass is really other than the Sacrifice of Calvary, and second, that destruction is the one essential element of sacrifice. And not only are they painful and uncalled for; they are perilous as well. Thus, Father Gallagher, in trying to make out the *status declivior* in the Eucharist to be a real destruction, goes so far as to say that the consecration "effects the reduction of Christ's body and blood to the state of inorganic matter." One hardly knows how to characterize a statement like this. Even the appearances in the Mass are not those of inorganic matter, for bread and wine are both products of organic substances. Much less are Christ's Body and Blood, though deprived of their connatural mode of existence, reduced to the state of inorganic matter. It is only upon the complete disintegration of the organism after death that the multifold elements which go to make it up are released and resume their pristine state in the inorganic world. There was no such disintegration after death in our Lord's body, and since the Resurrection it has become wholly immune from such disintegration. Therefore, while the mode of its existence in the Holy Eucharist is quite beyond our understanding it, we are absolutely certain that it is not reduced to the state of inorganic matter; for Christ Himself is present, whole and entire, Body and Blood, Soul and Divinity, in every particle of the consecrated species, and Christ is a living organism.

As in a living organism the blood is in the body, there is no real separation of the Precious Blood from the Body of Christ at the consecration. The distinctive note of what is spoken of as "the unbloody separation" lies in its not being real. True, the *terminus ad quem* of transubstantiation of the wine is the Blood of Christ. But it is the Blood as in the Body, not the Blood as separated from the Body—which it never is and never more can be. The elements of bread and wine are, indeed, separate, and there is a separate consecration of each. Also, the *terminus ad quem* in the one case is really distinct from the *terminus ad quem* in the other. And it is enough that they be really distinct to found a basis for the double consecration and the really distinct relations arising from it. But real distinction and real separation are two entirely different things. The Blood of Christ is really distinct from His Body as it is in Heaven. And yet, whether in Heaven or on the Altar, the Blood is really in the Body, not really separated from the Body. It has been said that "if separated in the Sacrament, it is really, not figuratively separated." Not "figuratively" in the sense of "metaphorically," it is true; for the mystery of the Eucharist lies altogether beyond the region of metaphor. But "figuratively" in the sense of "symbolically," yes, and thus also opposed to "really." The metaphorical is in the imagination; the mystical or symbolical in the intellect; the real alone is wholly outside of the mind. And the Blood of Christ, as it exists outside of the mind, whether in Heaven or on the Altar, is really in His Body.

Dr. Pohle observes [28] that "the tendency of the double consecration [in Lessius's theory] is towards a formal exclusion of the Blood from the Body," and that "The mystical slaying thus approaches nearer to a real destruction." But if not a real destruction, it is of no use its coming near or very near being so. The Mass is a sacrifice—not nearly one. For the rest, the mystical slaying, no matter in what form it may be propounded, never comes near being a real destruction. It lies in the subjective and the ideal order, not in the objective and the real. But this by the way.

[28] *Cath. Ency.*, art. "The Mass".

Father Gallagher shows some ingenuity as a destructive critic. But he is woefully deficient in constructive work. Thus, he quotes with approval the statement of Cardinal Bellarmine that sacrificial destruction takes the form of slaying when the victim is a living one. And yet, though the Victim offered in the Mass is a living Victim, he makes the sacrificial destruction consist in something other than slaying, viz., (1) reduction to the state of inorganic matter, (2) disappearance or the being rendered absolutely imperceptible to the senses. The former mode of destruction has been dealt with. Let us consider the latter. First of all, disappearance as such is not destruction even in the moral estimation of men. Our Lord could and did make Himself absolutely imperceptible to the senses even before His ascension into Heaven. But He was not therefore deemed to be destroyed, much less sacrificed. In the next place, disappearance involves appearance or a being present to the senses as its terminus *a quo*. Now the Victim in the Mass is not at all present to the senses. Our Lord is present to the senses in Heaven, of course, but He does not disappear from there when He becomes present on the altar, and in any case the Mass is not offered in the heavenly tabernacle but in our earthly one. The Father suggests that "At the Last Supper Christ, in pronouncing the consecrating words, might have ceased to exist in visible form and made Himself present only under the species of bread and wine", and that "The Apostles would then have seen with their own eyes that He had sacrificed Himself for them as He declared." But even on the assumption that His ceasing to exist in visible form would have been a real destruction, since He did not so cease to exist in fact it would follow that there was no real destruction and no real sacrifice in the Last Supper. Much less would there be in the Mass, where He neither appears nor disappears.

Father Gallagher himself insists, and rightly, that in a sacrifice offered among men, who are creatures of sense, the destruction must be visible to the senses. He also holds, as we all of us hold, that what is offered in the Mass is the Victim slain on Calvary. How, then, can there be a destruction in the Mass that is visible to the senses when the Victim is invisible? And where is the use of saying that the priest

who represents Him is visible, and the sacred species which contain Him are visible? It is not these that are offered in sacrifice. The real Victim of the Mass remains invisible, and in any case there neither is nor can be a real destruction of Him. Nor need there be. For though He was slain but once, "the efficacy of the Sacrifice once offered," to cite the words of St. Thomas of Aquin, "endureth evermore." [29]

One finds in the latest modification of the De Lugo theory all the flaws to be found in the original, aggravated by not a few peculiar to itself. The objections against the original theory, to sum them up briefly, are: (1) that it is founded on a false idea of sacrifice which makes destruction the one essential element; (2) that in it the destruction is not sensible; (3) that the destruction is not real; (4) that it would make the Mass a sacrifice independently of the bloody immolation on the Cross. Nor does it avail to urge in rebuttal of the last objection, that Christ Himself instituted the double consecration for "a reminder and memorial of the other separation of body and blood in the death on the Cross."

For, while the mystic slaying makes the Mass a sacrifice intrinsically relative to that of Calvary, and so far forth is unexceptionable, the moral slaying makes it a sacrifice intrinsically absolute, with only an extrinsic relation to the Sacrifice of the Cross. In it the symbolic representation of Calvary is but an extrinsic adjunct, not a reproduction of that Sacrifice under symbolic forms.

The whole rite of the Mass, the altar representing Calvary, the priest mounting the altar representing Christ, the repeated signs of the Cross, the mystic slaying, the words and the action of the liturgy, the very vestments—in short, the Mass from beginning to end is, as St. Thomas observes, an *imago quaedam repraesentativa passionis Christi*, a symbolic reproduction of the Passion of Christ, which, St. Cyprian attests, is "the Sacrifice that we offer." Thus is the Mass, as the Council of Trent has declared, "a visible sacrifice," a sense-perceptible transcript of the Sacrifice once offered, and at the same time that very Sacrifice itself evermore prolonged. For the Mass is, as Manning has so aptly said, "the shadow of Calvary, but it is also the reality." The mystic slaying,

[29] IIIa, Q. 22, a. 5.

though the central act, is not the only constituent of the mystic rite and visible sacrifice; nor was it so regarded by the great theologians of the middle age. For the Last Supper is fused into one with Calvary in Christ's Commemorative Pasch which comforts God's people on their pilgrimage, and on every altar, "from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same," pleads for them with a better pleading than that of Abel.

The true idea of sacrifice is not to be found among pagan peoples who lived under the law of nature with no light to guide them but that of unaided reason. It is to be found only among the people who worshipped the one true God under a law supernaturally promulgated by Him. In the Book of Leviticus, the great Ritual Code given by God to His people after He had led them out of the house of bondage and set apart a special tribe to perpetuate a priesthood and sacrifice, we find God's own idea of sacrifice formulated by Himself. This we are to follow, not any theory of sacrifice devised and formulated by man.

A word in conclusion. Two things happened at the Reformation which served to beget the confusion of thought that has reigned down to this day regarding the sacrificial idea in the Mass. One was in the sphere of theology, the other in the closely allied domain of philosophy. Catholic theologians, leaving the plain way of simple faith in the oneness of Christ's Sacrifice trodden by the Schoolmen and the Fathers, lost themselves in a maze of theory and speculation. On the other hand, Scholastic Philosophy, with its exactness of thought and precision of language, was driven from its place of honor in seminaries of learning, and fell into abeyance, if not into contempt. Once granted that the Mass is essentially the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross—and this our faith affirms—no one versed in the philosophy of the schools would ever dream of questioning that they have the same formal constituent. It was ever axiomatic in the schools that the formal constituent is the determining principle of the essence, and where this is one must needs be one and the same.

✠ ALEXANDER MACDONALD,
*Bishop of Victoria, B. C.*

## MORAL THEOLOGY IN THE SEMINARY CURRICULUM.*

AMONG the problems of seminary curriculum none, perhaps, is met with such varied solutions as that of the correlation of the many elements entering into the course of Moral Theology. In no three seminaries of our country are these elements combined and taught in the same order. Even in the standard text-books of Moral Theology there is a notable diversity in their sequence and relative proportion; and some of them are treated at length in text-books of other sacred sciences. These elements are Ethics, Canon Law, Dogmatic Theology, and Moral Theology strictly speaking; to which may be added the practical application of the principles of Liturgy and Pastoral Theology. All these find place in text-books of Moral; and, due perhaps to this fact, some of our seminaries have not entirely emerged from the stone age in which all these elements entered indiscriminately into the class of Moral Theology.

Thus, our seminary text-books of Philosophy have their more or less pretentious chapters on Ethics; and the professor of Philosophy whose concept of his contribution to the seminary curriculum is determined chiefly by the thickness of his manual, is sure to drag his students hurriedly through pages of moral principles the bearing of which can be fully understood by the seminarian only when they come to be studied again in the fuller light of Moral Theology, the text-books of which reproduce in their different treatises all the data of Moral Philosophy.

In text-books of Canon Law are contained many of the treatises found in the text-books of Moral under the captions "de Legibus", "de Censuris", "de Sacramentis", "de Praeceptis Ecclesiae", "de Vita Clericali", etc. Thus, what is termed the class of Canon Law in one seminary is called that of Moral in another. This may explain, if it does not excuse, the opinion sometimes voiced that it is a waste of time to study Canon Law.

Again, in some text-books of Dogmatic Theology the treatises on certain virtues and "de Sacramentis" touch suf-

* This paper was read before the Seminary Department of the Catholic Education Association, at its recent session in New Orleans (30 June, 1913).

ficiently on the subject matter of Canon Law, Moral, or Liturgy, to provoke the undiscerning professor to treat of what has been termed the "practical side of Dogma". Indeed, not long ago we were given a hybrid manual in which were combined the Dogma, Moral, Law, and Liturgy of the Sacraments for the use of the versatile professor whose competency in all branches of sacred science gives him to teach a class in so-called "General Sacramental Theology" with at least the nonchalance of a conductor of a three-ring circus.

I need not amplify this point. I am addressing those for whom these few examples will suggest much more in the same order. Suffice it to say that in many of our seminaries to-day the course of Moral Theology, as distinct from Canon Law, Ethics, and Liturgy, and even Dogmatic Theology to the extent above cited, is vaguely defined. This fact is the fundamental one to be considered and dealt with in discussing the place of Moral Theology in the curriculum.

In approaching this discussion it may be well first to clear the way by seeing why this is so. Two reasons suggest themselves. One is that Moral Theology as a distinct science is relatively young. Up to the seventeenth century it formed a part of General Theology. Indeed, in one general text on "Theology", in the "Libri Sententiarum" and the "Summae", were treated questions Dogmatic, Moral, Canonical. In this domain Dogmatic Theology was the queen, the other branches being handmaids to it. Canon Law was the first of the sacred sciences to disentangle itself from the general confusion; though Dogmatic or Speculative Theology came, by reason of its regency, to reserve to itself a well-defined field. But the science of morals, though it soon came to enjoy a separate existence, has yet to define its strict preserves. This is one reason why all works on Moral Theology, from the more learned tomes of the Masters down to the manuals of the imitators, meritorious or otherwise, have their generous measure of much that came from the parent mass.

There is another reason, one that may account for the agglomeration of matter contained in the manuals destined for use, and consequently popular, in missionary countries Moral Theology was *the* practical science for missionary

priests. The Moral manual was their vade-mecum. In it came to be sought, and hence provided by the "author", all possible information on matters pertaining to the pastoral care of souls. It was the "Regula Pastoralis" revived by modern Gregorys, some of them worthy indeed of the comparison, who recognized that they were writing, if not for the primitive ages, at least for a clergy working in conditions of primitive simplicity, and composed to some extent of men whose opportunities for sound theological education had not been those of the golden or silver age of the divine sciences.

The writer is not finding fault with these text-books. Most of them served and still serve their purpose admirably. Those that do not will inevitably attain to early oblivion, as have so many before them, without the help of unkind criticism from one who wishes them the success they really deserve. The conventional text-book, with its fund of varied practical information, its ready-found solutions of certain venerable cases, and its compendious digest of dogmatic, moral, canonical, and liturgical principles, deserves well of seminarians and of busy priests who must perforce consult it, if not for purposes of penitential ministry, at least to prepare the matter for the diocesan conference or to seek, and possibly find, the answer to some vexed problem with regard to which the memory of both pastor and curate is sufficiently hazy to admit of a theological discussion sometimes more acrimonious than scholastic.

No, it is not the text-book that is altogether blameable for the confusion in our classes of Moral Theology. The manuals merely reflect, not the specific demands of the seminarian but the more general desires of the clergy at large. Rather is the fault, if fault there be, to be imputed to the professor whose pedagogy of the science of Moral Theology consists in beginning at the hither cover of the manual and proceeding at the rate of four or five pages *per diem* until the further cover is reached. Dogma, Moral, Ethics, Canon Law, Liturgy, Ascetics, and Pastoral, are each in turn met and disposed of in the same general way. The atmosphere of the class-room may be always the same; the spirit of the teaching unvaried. The strict laws of the Church may be laid down with no more finality than in the exposition of

some controverted speculative question. Ethical data and the truths revealed by God may be set forth in the same uncolored way. The professor may "know his matter" thoroughly; and in this respect I make bold to say that no fault can be found with the excellent body of priests in the service of the seminaries. It can only be that the pedagogy of some is at fault. But even for this they are not altogether inexcusable. The uncertain boundaries of their science may be pleaded in their behalf.

Moreover, text-books on Moral, and hence the classes of professors who may deem pagination the equivalent of scientific development of their subject, present their treatises in different groupings. Nearly all begin with the so-called fundamental tracts on Human Acts, Conscience, and Law. Sin and Virtue are then treated of, but in widely different ways; certain specific sins and virtues being here quite inadequately dealt with in connexion with the general principles, and for no other apparent reason than that they do not fit in with the author's subsequent plans. Thus, for example, the by no means negligible "seven capital sins" are generally grouped in the treatise "de Peccatis" and despatched at one fell swoop of summary dismissal. This is true, too, of certain conventional groups of virtues. Then follow the treatises in "Special Moral", as it is termed in many text-books. These admit of two widely different groupings. One is based on the order of the Decalogue; the other on the order of the Virtues. Preferences are divided; which means that either order has its sympathisers and opponents; or, that one who prefers neither has his justification in the fact that preference for either is for many the choice of the lesser of two evils. The tracts on the Virtues or the Commandments are followed by the section of the Sacraments, treated likewise in varying order. Scattered here and there are treatises on Censures, on States of Life lay and clerical, on the Precepts of the Church, etc.; while somewhere within or without the covers may be found the *arcana* of "de Sexto".

Again, let me insist upon it, for the priest who seeks in his manual as in a mine of information for the solution of the practical moral problems of the day, this detail of order and arrangement may matter little, except in as far as it

leads to lack of due proportion or even to the crowding out of certain subjects worthy of more attention. But it does matter much to the tyro in the class-room; and here I think may be found the key to many of our difficulties. The seminarian is not yet a theologian, even though he be so qualified for the purposes of domestic distinction; yet perhaps with more right, and less irony, than are his juniors termed "philosophers". But he is being made a theologian. He is being introduced to the most sacred of all sciences with whose spirit he is not yet familiar. His training in that spirit is of more importance than the acquisition of fragments of knowledge. Indeed, it is of supreme importance that he be thoroughly drilled in that spirit before he leaves the seminary. He can then pick up knowledge by himself in his subsequent studies. Whereas, if he has been merely crammed full of summarized principles and stereotyped solutions of cases, he will never be a theologian. He will ever complain that the practical cases found on the mission are avoided by the manuals, and will ultimately resort to that "common sense" in which some are found to take pride more pitiable than pardonable.

This scientific spirit does not exude from text-books. They are not intended to furnish it. They are rather for those who have already imbibed it; for those who have not, the professor must make supreme effort to supply it. But the professor of Moral Theology, as presently taught in many of our seminaries, labors under difficulties. His is not one distinct science, as I have shown, but a number of sciences gathered in dismaying confusion. There is the science of Dogmatic Theology with its element of revealed truth, its theological opinions, its controversies. There is Canon Law with its totally different spirit; a difference appreciated indeed by the professor but lost on the tyro who, unless his professor in the class of Moral be a guide of exceptional ability, may raise a law to the dignity of an infallible decision, or, as is more probable, give it all the flexibility of a a controverted point of theological speculation. In illustration of this might be cited the cleric who vindicates his disdain of the Church's laws governing even the validity of the Sacraments by an appeal to the principle, "Sacramenta

propter homines". Again, the revealed laws of morality must be dealt with in a scientific spirit quite different from that in which are deduced the conclusions of moral philosophy. In a word, Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Ethics, Canon Law, Liturgy, etc., have each a distinctive scientific spirit. This spirit must be kept in mind in determining the place and scope of Moral Theology in our seminary curriculum.

I do not deny that one professor *could* teach all these elements entering into Moral Theology as to-day exposed in our manuals; and might do so with due regard to the spirit of each of the component sciences. But I believe that it would be far better for the student if certain of these sciences were treated by different professors.

Of first importance is the restoration of the science of Canon Law to its due place in the seminary curriculum. Whatever might be the excuse for the neglect of this branch in the pioneer days of the Church in America, it no longer avails. The passing of our country from the indulgent jurisdiction of Propaganda, and the codification of Canon Law, mark for us in particular an epoch. The new era should be signalized by the establishment of a thorough course of Canon Law in our seminaries. In this course, rather than in that of Moral Theology, should be taught much of the tract "de Legibus" and, in a word, all those treatises of our Moral manuals that deal principally with the positive laws of the Church. The Sacraments of Matrimony, Eucharist, and Orders should be treated in this course, if not indeed all the Sacraments save Penance. And it might conduce to a more discerning administration of the Sacrament of Penance if the powers of the minister were exposed by a professor of Canon Law in a class-room whose spirit and atmosphere were those of the science of Canon Law.

In ecclesiastical seminaries the course of Ethics might well be eliminated from the Philosophy program. The examination and appreciation of modern ethical systems could be studied to better advantage in connexion with the tract on the true norm of morality in Fundamental Moral; while the other theses of Moral Philosophy could be exposed in the tracts on "Special Moral" as the contribution of reason to

the solution of the problems of life with which Moral Theology deals in the light of revelation. This does not at all imply that the section on Ethics should be eliminated from the text-books of Philosophy, for these are to be used in Catholic colleges whose students will never read Moral Theology. But for the seminarian more time should be given to the other problems of Philosophy; while those concerning morals should be studied from the simultaneous philosophico-theological view-point, as indeed they are developed in most of our manuals of Moral Theology.

The dogmatic treatises, however, which touch upon points of Moral Theology or Canon Law should be exposed in a class of Dogmatic Theology, and by a trained professor of that science. The treatise on the Sacraments should be taught in no other way. The border line, it is true, may be in some cases difficult to define, but under the guidance of an efficient rector or prefect of studies it can be fixed with approximate exactness. It is far less an evil that two professors should each touch upon a few neutral details of Sacramental Theology than that one professor should teach both Dogma and Canon Law, not to speak of Moral, Liturgy, Pastoral Theology, in the same class-room and in the same atmosphere. In this connexion it is significant to note that the Father General of the Society of Jesus has directed that in the Jesuit theological schools the Dogmatic and Canonical elements in the treatises on the Sacraments be henceforth taught in different classes. It has in fact been foreshadowed that the section of the revised Canon Law pertaining to clerical studies will exact this in all seminaries.

There would be left to Moral Theology, then, a field that could be provided for in a two or three year course by either one or more professors. The conventional elements could here hold their conventional place. The course might begin with a study of the nature and norm of morality. An exposition of the Catholic system should be accompanied by an examination and refutation of the ethical systems in favor today. But, save perhaps for a brief historical review, no time should be wasted on obsolete systems simply because an "author" found their refutation in volumes that once upon a time did honorable service. Inestimably important is this

foundation stone of moral science; and the seminarian who has not been able to lay it firm and deep is poorly equipped for one of the two great fields whereon the battles of his generation are being fought.

The treatise on Human Acts will naturally follow; and then the treatise on Conscience, with a lucid explanation of the working principles of Probabilism alone, instead of a speculative study of the controversies of Jesuits and Redemptorists. Sin, but not sins, and Virtue, not virtues, should next be treated in such wise that the student may be solidly grounded in fundamental principles; and not merely given illustrations which an indiscreet professor would draw from Special Moral to his own greater glory but to the obfuscation of the student who, for example, would strut in proud possession of the knowledge that to steal ten dollars was a mortal sin while to steal two dollars was venial, meanwhile knowing absolutely nothing scientific regarding the distinction between mortal and venial sin. The spirit of this class should be philosophico-theological. To teach the what and why of morality, of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, should be its aim. It should touch upon no specific sin, no specific virtue, at least with a view to scientific development. Least of all should casuistry find place here.

Then the course of "Special Moral" would take up all the specific virtues and vices; and, let it be said, the virtues as well as the vices, if not, indeed, the virtues rather than the vices should find ample treatment. The philosophical and dogmatic foundation for the treatises on the Virtues I would consider as within the province of the professor of Moral Theology. In slight modification of the order found in conventional text-books the matter of the course might be more profitably grouped and developed from the point of view, not of virtues or precepts, but of relations. First might come the direct and immediate relations between man and God. Here the treatises "de Fide", "de Spe", "de Caritate erga Deum", "de Religione", would define the direct internal and external relations of man with God.

Then would come those treatises which deal with man and his passions that center in himself rather than directly in God or neighbor. Here a more adequate treatment of

pride, anger, impurity, gluttony, sloth, etc., might be provided, and the contrary virtues developed to a far greater extent than in our ordinary manuals. Certainly these virtues and vices need to be insisted on in confessional and pulpit.

Then, in the third place, could be grouped the all-important relations of man and man, the practice of such virtues as find their immediate term in one's neighbor. Here would be developed at great length the living virtues of Justice, Charity, Obedience, Veracity, etc. Beginning with the treatise on commutative justice, all the strict rights of man should be clearly and fully defined and the manner of their acquisition and vindication determined. On this score our manuals leave much to be desired. In this connexion I would suggest the incorporation into the treatise on Justice of much that is now contained in the treatises on Contracts. For buried there in the chapters on Just Price, Usury, Wages, and some long-forgotten contracts, is to be found the traditional Catholic attitude toward money-making and toward capitalism and capitalists, so little understood by Catholics to-day. Small wonder; for who has not heard of the Moral professor who with superior disdain has passed over at least the treatise "de Contractibus" with the sage remark that it was a matter of civil law. Even some recent manuals in an endeavor to reduce the overloaded treatise on Contracts to a working basis, have not only laudably omitted certain details on obsolete and unimportant contracts, but have blindly wiped out with them traditional Catholic principles of vast importance for the solution of the gravest problems of to-day.

After the treatise on strict rights might come those dealing with non-strict rights, the matter of Social Justice, and the tracts on Obedience, Lying, etc.

Then should come the treatise "de Caritate erga Proximum" as a complement, not to the treatise on Love of God, but to the treatise on Justice. There is to-day more than ever a reason for this. Every Catholic writer and speaker on the social question is ready to say that in the application of the Catholic principles of Justice and Charity is to be found the solution of our social ills. Yet, in how many classrooms are the tracts on these two virtues even remotely united, or referred to scientifically as allied working virtues?

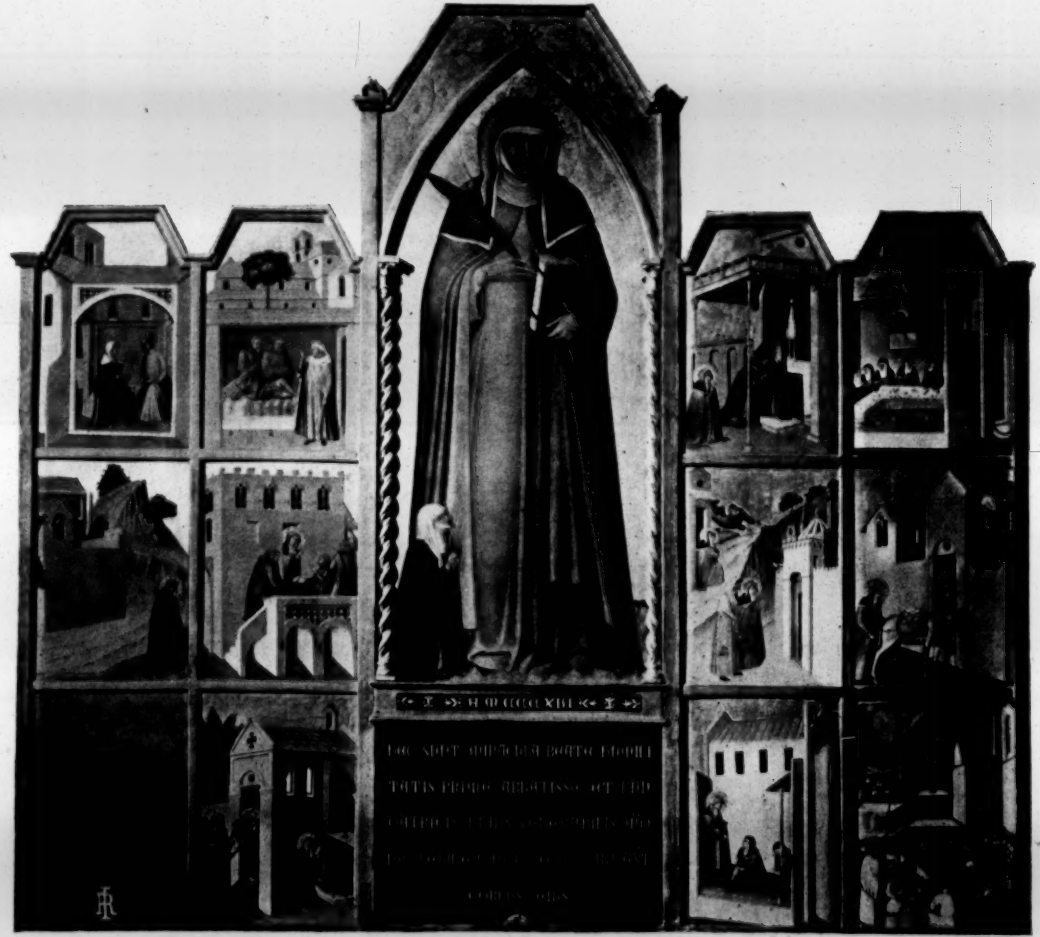
Never will the Catholic social doctrine and program be adequately understood, even by priests, until Justice and Charity are treated in the class-room as complementary, and not at widely separated intervals of time in one's course and in totally different class atmospheres. They must be treated successively and with the eye single to establishing in the mind of the student a concept of God's will as to how man and man should live and love and work together for self and for neighbor. Immediate application of much that precedes could then be made in the tracts on the States of Life.

The treatise on Sacraments might come next; though Moral Theology has scarce more to do than consider the disposition of minister and subject in all the Sacraments save Penance. This Sacrament might be made the matter of the final term in the course of Moral Theology. Its extended careful exposition could serve to bring up in review many of the applied principles of Fundamental and Special Moral. Here too casuistry might be given more of a place than in the earlier years of the course. For, let me say in conclusion, casuistry in the class-room should look to the solution of practical cases by the application to them of all the available and apposite moral principles. The science of Moral has suffered incalculably by the abuse in the class-room of one-rule puzzles offered as "cases". Their evil is that they give the student to think that moral cases are solved by an appeal to one principle, or that he will find the solution of a complicated moral problem in a single paragraph of a manual.

This paper will merit, I confess, the charge of being destructive instead of constructive; for the writer has offered no very detailed or definite plan with the view to complete reconstruction. The time-limit imposed has made it possible to do no more than present a few rapid suggestions. The thoughts here set forth reflect not the writer's views alone but those of many a seminary professor with whom he has discussed this subject. Indeed, each suggestion here made is based upon the satisfactory experience of one seminary or another. If their grouping here will help those competent to provide for their more general acceptance, this essay will have borne fruit beyond hoped-for measure.

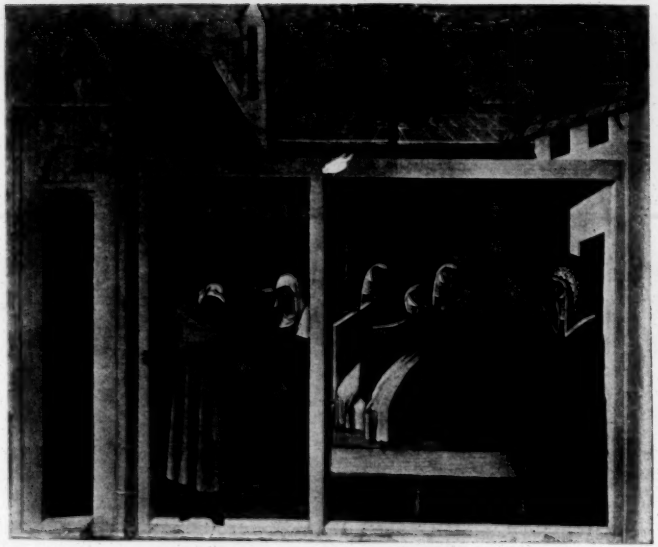
JOHN B. PETERSON.

*St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Boston, Mass.*



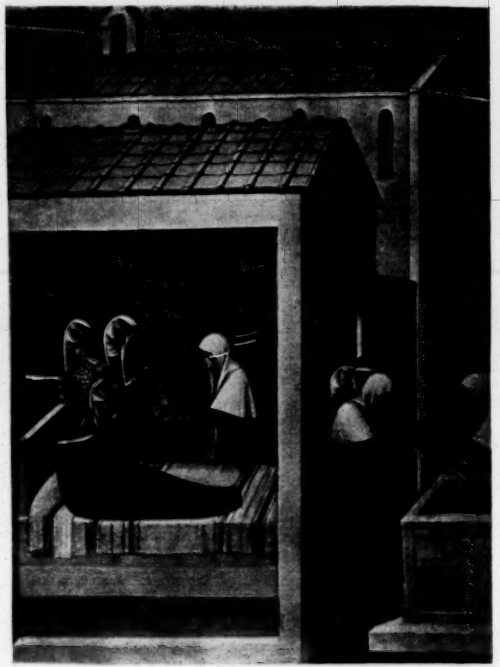
THE ALTARPIECE OF ST. HUMILITY

FLORENCE ACADEMY. *Photograph, Alinari.*



THE MIRACLE OF THE NUN

BERLIN GALLERY.



THE MIRACLE OF THE ICE

*Photographs, Hanfstaengl.*

# AN ALTARPIECE OF SAINT HUMILITY.[1]

## I.

THERE is in the Accademia at Florence[2] a deeply interesting polyptych once above an altar dedicated to St. Humility, the acknowledged foundress of the Vallombrosan Nuns. It takes the form still affected to some extent at that time of a large central figure of the Saint surrounded by small scenes from the life. Well-known instances of altarpieces of St. Francis and St. Clare painted in this fashion will occur to my readers. The Accademia catalogue assigns the polyptych to the school of the Lorenzetti, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[3] Dr. Bode,[4] and Mr. Berenson,[5] to Pietro Lorenzetti without hesitation. Adolfo Venturi is not completely converted to this view.[6] But all are agreed that it is Sienese. The old-fashioned attribution of the picture was to Buffalmacco who did much fresco work in the church for which this altarpiece was painted (S. Giovanni Evangelista, Florence).[7]

Before proceeding to the consideration of the picture it will be well to recapitulate—it must be in briefest fashion—the chief events of St. Humility's life. She was born at Faenza of a prominent family, believed to be the Negosanti, in the year 1226. Her name in the world was Rosanese, and her

[1] The Bollandists have treated of St. Humility, and published her earliest known Legend from a version notarially authenticated in 1332. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. V, Maii, pp. 203-222 and Appendices 1127-1134; Venice edition). The Legend is a summary of earlier legends, "prolixitate omissa", and is the work of an unknown Vallombrosan monk. A version of the Legend written in the golden tongue of the *trecento* (1345) was edited by Francesco Zambrini, and published at Imola in 1856. The author is a Vallombrosan monk, Don Silvestro Ardenti. A standard life is that of Don Ignazio Guiducci, another Vallombrosan, Florence, 1622, and there is an excellent modern life, published in honor of the sixth centenary of the Saint's transitus, by Dom Mauro Ercolani, O.S.B., Vallomb., Pescia, 1910. Both the book and its learned author have been very helpful to me in writing this article and I owe him sincere thanks. An interesting study of the polyptych, as a review of this book, was published by Dr. E. Lazzareschi of the Lucca Record Office in *Luce e Amore* for 10 September, 1910.

[2] Sala prima dei Maestri Toscani, No. 133.

[3] *The History of Painting in Italy*, Murray, Vol. III, p. 92.

[4] Berlin Catalogue, 1906, p. 213.

[5] *Central Italian Painters*, Putnam's, 1911, p. 188.

[6] *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, Vol. V, p. 672.

[7] Vasari's account of the painter's extravagant doings in this Church makes capital reading in Mr. Gaston de Vere's excellent translation. (Medici Society's Vasari, Vol. I, pp. 138-140.)

first biographer tells us that she was of exceeding beauty ("pulchra valde aspectu"). At the age of fifteen, in spite of her strong desire to serve God in Religion, she was married to Ugolotto of the Caccianemici, a great Bolognese family which had settled in Faenza. Full many a time (as we see in the first of the graceful little pictures of the altarpiece) she reasoned with her husband on the desirability, or rather on the glory and nobility, of separating to serve God more perfectly. He was obdurate. Finally, when he was visited by a grievous sickness, the doctors pronounced that his only chance of life was the celibate state. Whereupon he and Rosanese retired together to S. Perpetua, a house of Canons Regular of the Congregation of St. Mark of Mantua, outside the city walls. It was one of those double houses, the church building dividing the Canons from the Canonesses, which sometimes existed for the greater protection of the women when the Religious house was outside a town. Rosanese and Ugolotto had been married nine years. Though living in a manner in the same building, they never saw each other again. He took the name of Lodovico and lives in Faentine history as Saint and Blessed; to her was given the name of Umiltà on account of her most characteristic virtue.

But retirement to S. Perpetua (which occurred in 1250) was only a first step in Rosanese's wonderful life of sanctity. She soon began to long for something more perfect,—namely complete seclusion and solitude. After about six years in S. Perpetua she was supernaturally impelled to leave, and miraculously helped over the high convent walls. A genuine escaped nun, she took refuge at night-time with the Poor Clares of Faenza, and then, after much debating, was allowed a room for the solitary life in the house of an uncle of hers, a certain Cavaliere Niccolò. Hither a Vallombrosan monk, who had heard of her great sanctity, was carried on a litter at his own request, and with a sign of the Cross she healed a foot that had been condemned to amputation. The monk, out of gratitude, and hearing from her own lips, no doubt, of her strong desire for complete seclusion, obtained leave that a cell should be built for her adjoining the Vallombrosan Priory Church of S. Apollinare in Faenza. In this Rosanese, one of the great ladies of the town, was ritually enclosed in

the presence of the Bishop and a great concourse of people (*tota civitas*, says the biographer). There was a small window in the cell opening on to the piazza through which the anchoress could receive alms and give spiritual counsel, and another opening into the church through which she could hear Mass, follow the Office, and receive Holy Communion. It is touching to read that Ugolotto followed her to S. Apollinare and became a Vallombrosan monk. It is said that he sought her spiritual counsel through the little window, but without ever seeing her face.

St. Humility lived the life of an anchoress for twelve years. But she was not quite alone. One other faithful creature kept the "Ancren Riwle" with her in this narrow cell,—a tame weasel, the love and care of which was the Saint's only relaxation. The legend tells us how the weasel would lie curled up at her feet during her long ecstacies, and how it would never eat meat within the limits of the cell. One day the weasel mysteriously left her, and it was like the sign of Humility's own departure; for she was divinely admonished about this time to quit the seclusion of her cell, change her manner of life, and found a cenobitic house of nuns (circa 1268). She founded S. Maria Novella, at a spot known as la Malta, just outside Faenza. She gave her nuns the Benedictine Rule and the Vallombrosan Constitutions, and this S. Maria Novella was the first Vallombrosan nunnery.[8]

At the inspiration of her great patron and friend, St. John the Divine, she left Faenza in 1280 to found a similar house in Florence. Here she built the famous Church and Nunnery of San Giovanni Evangelista ("ecclesiam mirae pulchritudinis": Leg. § 16). The foundation stone was laid in 1283, and the Church consecrated in 1297. It was situated outside the old walls where now rises Alexander de'Medici's formidable Fortezza da Basso. The Via Faenza in Florence is so called not because it led to Faenza, but because it led to the Nunnery of the "Donne di Faenza", as Humility's Nuns were popularly called. The Saint died in this Nunnery on

[8] It is possible to show that, before this, some Benedictine nunneries already in existence, came under Vallombrosan influence, and were considered Vallombrosan houses. But Santa Maria Novella alla Malta was the first house directly founded as a Vallombrosan nunnery. See Dom Mauro Ercolani, op. cit., Cap. 27.

22 May, 1310, being eighty-four years of age, and was buried inside her beautiful Church on the Gospel side of the high altar. Owing to miracles worked at her tomb, her body was taken up in the following year and given more honorable burial under a new altar dedicated to herself. It was for this altar that the polyptych was painted, and though it bears date 1316 the order for the altarpiece must have been given at about the same time as the order for the altar (1311).

St. Humility's body and her altarpiece have undergone many peregrinations. In 1529 when Florence was threatened with siege by the Emperor Charles V, the Republic pulled down all buildings within a mile or so of the walls of the city, and S. Giovanni Evangelista was laid level with the earth.[9] The Nuns took shelter in S. Caterina for three months, and in Sant'Antonio [10] for about three years, always bearing with them the body of the Saint and the altarpiece of her altar. In 1534 they were given San Salvi, near Florence, as a stable residence. It had already for centuries been a monastery of Vallombrosan men. Here a new altar was later on dedicated to St. Humility, and the beautiful old altarpiece shared the same fate as so many other noble pictures of the tre- and quattrocento in being relegated to the obscurity of the sacristy. San Salvi was suppressed in the Napoleonic suppression (1808), and was not revived at the Restoration. At this point the Nuns and the picture they had treasured for nearly five hundred years, part company. It was confiscated by the Government, placed in the Accademia store-rooms, and there taken to pieces (November, 1810). The statement of the existing Accademia catalogue that this altarpiece came from the Vallombrosan Church of San Pancrazio is an error There was another picture of St. Humility in this Church bearing date 1499. The error probably arises from this. The Report of the Commission for the selection of works of art from the suppressed houses, expressly mentions the San Salvi altarpiece as one of the selected pictures.[11] The

[9] The Jesuat Church of San Giusto, gloriously frescoed only about forty years before by Perugino, shared a like terrible fate.

[10] Also destroyed soon afterwards to make room for the huge Fortezza da Basso.

[11] Report No. 4, p. 9, in Archives of the Accademia.

Nuns in 1815 found a home with their sisters in Santo Spirito sulla Costa (better known as San Giorgio), taking with them the body of Sant'Umiltà for which the Government had no sort of use. Santo Spirito was expropriated in 1865, and the Nuns found a temporary shelter with their sisters in Santa Verdiana. In 1873 they founded a new Santo Spirito at Varlungo outside Florence on the tram line to Rovezzano. The body of St. Humility rests under the altar of their little chapel there, reverently cared for by the direct descendants of those nuns whom the great Saint founded at San Giovanni Evangelista more than six centuries since.

## II.

I fear that this study will have but little result except to show the immense difficulties attending studies of the kind. But negative knowledge has its value, and it is better to face difficulties than to shirk them. To turn, then, to some few observations on the picture itself. There are two or three curious features in the central panel on which the reader will justly ask for instant and complete enlightenment. Alas! that I can tell him so little. In the first place he will desire to know what the astounding headgear is which the Saint is wearing, not in the central panel only, but in each one of the small pictures in which she appears as a nun. The Legend is silent on the subject, but Guiducci, writing in 1622, says it is a lambskin, and that the Saint habitually wore this, after becoming Abbess of San Giovanni Evangelista, as a sign of her humility. He adds that the lambskin was reverently preserved in his day by the nuns of San Salvi as a most precious relic.[12] Among the documents in the "Processus" of the Saint's Beatification instituted by the Archbishop of Florence in 1624 is a list of the relics to be found at San Salvi, and among these are mentioned "two pieces of a lambskin which the Saint wore on her head". We must therefore exclude the idea that the headgear is an invention of the painter and has a purely symbolical significance. It is true that there is no longer any trace of the lambskin either in the sacristy at San Salvi (now a parish church) or among the relics at Varlungo, but the explicit statement of Guiducci, still more

[12] Vita, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 44.

the authoritative and official statement in the "Processus" where the Reliquary is even described, leave no doubt in my mind that the lambskin once existed and was actually worn by the Saint during her lifetime. It has become her distinguishing attribute in art, and must have been a matter of much moment to have supplanted her attractive little friend, the weasel. For what reason she wore the skin we shall probably never know. Guiducci's statement that it was as a sign of her humility is *seicento* guesswork and does not convince.

Then the reader will ask how it is that the Saint, who died peaceably in the narrow bed of her monastic cell, is bearing the martyr's palm in her right-hand, and what the book is she is holding in her left? Again I have no certain answer. The book, I should say, assuredly represents the volume of her remarkable Sermons, first made accessible to the world some thirty years ago.[13] The Bollandists mention[14] that in the San Pancrazio picture of 1499 the Saint is holding a palm bearing dates, and that on an open book is written a sentence which twice occurs in her Sermons: "Colligite prius de palma indactylata, quae fuit ab initio salus destinata."[15] But the picture of 1499 is probably only a guess at the picture of 1316. Perhaps the painter is in error; perhaps, instead of a palm, he should have placed in her hand the rod, or bundle of twigs, as a sign of her corrective power. This it seems to me is what she holds in a beautiful statue, once over her tomb in San Giovanni Evangelista, now fixed at great disadvantage in the wall of the north transept at San Salvi. But it is better for the present to admit that we are completely in the dark on the subject.

[13] "Sermones S. Humilitatis de Faventia . . . nunc primum in lucem editi a D. Torello Sala Monacho ejusdem Ordinis"; Florence, 1884. The Sermons are full of delightful personal touches. The Saint knew the name of her Guardian Angel, Sapiel, a very beautiful name. ("Ipse curialitate pius est, et plenus. Lapidibus pretiosis totus est ornatus: est autem de omni colore suum vestimentum.") When the Saint entered on the perilous ways of her complete seclusion, God, she tells us, gave her a second Guardian Angel, Emmanuel, chosen from among the Cherubim. It is singular, after her enthusiasm for the recluse's life, that she should say: "virtutes Congregationis meliores sunt, quam eorum qui manent in solitudine" (p. 59).

[14] Tom. cit. Appendix.

[15] Sermones, p. 63 and p. 75.

THE SKETCH FROM THE "PROCESSUS."

ARCHIEPISCOPAL ARCHIVES, FLORENCE.

GORDON CARMICHAEL, FECIT.

A further mystery is the little nun kneeling at the Saint's feet in the usual attitude of the founder of an altar. Tradition says it is her faithful companion, the Blessed Margaret of Faenza, who succeeded her as Abbess of San Giovanni Evangelista. And in fact it is difficult to suppose that it can be anybody else. The altar for which this picture was painted was not a private foundation, but the work of the nunnery itself undertaken within less than a year of the Saint's death. The Abbess would figure in the altarpiece as the representative of the nunnery. But the difficulty is that this little nun is dressed in a manner wholly different from a Vallombrosan of those days. She is wearing a black cloak and scapular, a blue tunic and the white veil of a lay-sister, instead of a brownish-grey tunic and mantle, and black veil. (It is interesting to note from this picture that the Vallombrosan nuns did not wear cowls at the time of their first foundation.) This little figure of the founder is perhaps the most insoluble mystery of the three. An error of the painter is the only, and the wholly unsatisfactory, solution I have to offer.

Another noteworthy feature is the full halo of saint, given to a nun who had been dead a year or less when the picture was ordered. The Popes had long since reserved to themselves the right of formal canonization, but this did not prevent canonization by the voice of the people with the sanction of the Ordinary. Still the tendency, which had become the rule by the beginning of the fifteenth century, was even then not to go beyond the title of Blessed in these popular canonizations. The Blessed Umiliana de'Cerchi (ob. 1246) and the Blessed Villana de'Botti (ob. 1360), both Florentines and highly popular in Florence, were only popularly *beatified*. But Humility is proclaimed Saint, and has an altar within a year of her death. Even St. Francis received no such instant honor, nor can I recall another example of the kind in the case of any medieval Saint. Popularity, and many miracles, can alone account for the exceptional honor done to St. Humility. While her festival was always celebrated in the dioceses of Florence and Faenza and in the Vallombrosan Order, she was not recognized by the Church till 1721, and even then was only beatified. By rights she is only the Beata Umiltà, but history and art have too strongly imprinted upon

her the great style and title of Saint for her ever to be called anything else.[16]

To come now to the scenes from the life of the Saint on either side of the central figure. These are at present eleven in number, five on the Gospel, and six on the Epistle side of the altar. There were once upon a time thirteen of these "quadretti",[17] and the two missing ones are in the Berlin Gallery. The one (bought at the Solly sale in 1821) which is the same size as the existing eleven (18 in. h. x 12¼ in.) is numbered 1077A in the Berlin catalogue, and is there described as "The Death of St. Humility". A bowl, says the compiler of the catalogue, is being brought to the Saint, and in a yard, he continues, a nun may be seen drawing this bowl out of a well in a bucket. He does not tell us why the glass bowl should have been at the bottom of a well, nor why its recovery should be a momentous event, nor why it seems to be so eagerly welcomed by the Saint on her bed of death. What I do not well understand is how an unexplained fact of this kind can be stated in solemn stolidity without some little expression of surprise. Surely this unmiraculous incident fills us with greater astonishment than any of the recorded miracles. Surely the most unphlegmatic of mortals would have turned to the Legend in the hope of a little light on the subject. There he would have read that this little picture does not represent the death of St. Humility, but, if anything, her escape from death. Paragraph 28 of the Legend recounts how the Saint, being ill of an obstinate fever in a Florentine August, sighs for the relief of a piece of ice, and tells her daughters to seek it in the well. The nuns, strong in obedience rather than in faith, let down the bucket into the well, and, greatly marvelling, draw up a goodly sized piece. This is the subject of the picture; it deals with life, not with death; and a glass bowl finds no place therein. In

[16] Santa Verdiana of Castelfiorentino (ob. 1222), claimed by the Order as a Vallombrosan recluse, and Santa Zita of Lucca (ob. 1272), patroness of serving-women, are two other famous instances of Saints who are only Blessed. Santa Zita was not beatified till 1696. She and Santa Verdiana are both in the Roman Martyrology; not so Sant' Umiltà.

[17] Thirteen testified to by Brocchi, "Santi e Beati Fiorentini," I, 304; thirteen by Richa, "Chiese Fiorentine," I, 308; twelve only by the Bollandists, and fourteen (twice) by Guiducci, p. 136 and p. 149.

all this there is no question of consulting rare books or unpublished Legends buried away in remote Italian codices, but only of referring to the "Acta Sanctorum", a copy of which should be in the library of every considerable art-gallery. Modern catalogues are so elaborate and so excellent as to call for the same minute criticism that would be meted out to the exhaustive work of the specialist: the compilers are gradually accustoming us to look for perfection.

The remaining "quadretto" at Berlin (No. 1077, acquired in 1888) representing the miraculous cure of a nun from acute nasal hemorrhage, is of different size and shape from the other twelve, and measures 18 in. x 22¼ in. What was its original position in the tryptych? The answer at a superficial glance would be, the position now occupied by the inscription HEC . SUNT . MIRACULA . BEATE . HUMILITATIS . PRIME . ABBATISSE . ET . FUNDATRICIS . HUJUS . VENERABILIS . MONASTERII . ET . IN . ISTO . ALTARI . EST . CORPUS . EJUS. But that will not satisfy, for the measurements of the space in which the inscription is contained are only 15½ in. x 22¼ in. The picture is the same width as the space, but is 2½ inches too high to enter. It is blocked out by the projecting ledge of the frame of the central panel containing the date 1316. Besides, why cover the inscription with a picture even if it would enter, or again why cover the picture with an inscription? No light or help comes from the catalogue or the art-writers, and the intellect becomes impassive when asked to place the greater in the less. Fortunately an eloquent document exists enabling us to solve the problem.

In the "processus" of a Saint to establish a Cult *ab immemorabili* as required by the decrees of Urban VIII, perhaps the most effective evidence that could be adduced was the existence of pictures in which the Servant of God is shown with a halo, whether of Saint or Blessed. The evidence is more than doubly valuable if the pictures are altarpieces, for they point to *public* veneration. The promoters were always careful to put in a list of such pictures, accompanied, in proof of their existence, by sketches of them. There are ten such sketches in the Florentine "Processus" of St. Humility, and one of them is a sepia drawing of the complete altarpiece now under

discussion (measurements of sketch, 20 in. x 27 in.). I do not remember ever to have seen a sketch from a "Processus" reproduced, and I therefore, both as a matter of curiosity and of interest, reproduce the drawing here.[18] It shows the four Evangelists in the cusps above the "quadretti" which have now wholly disappeared, as have also the beautiful pinnacles between the cusps. The rough old sketch enables us to judge very well how beautiful and elaborate the old frame must have been: the frame in use is wholly modern. From the sketch, too, we see that the larger-sized "quadretto", now at Berlin, occupied, as one would have thought, the space of the inscription *plus* the space of the ledge with the date which has no business to be where it is. In fact the sad truth is that the inscription and date are a "fake" made in perfectly good faith in the incurious easy-going 'forties when the picture was put together again and placed on view (1841). The original inscription, as the sketch shows, ran in a straight line at the bottom of the picture. No doubt the old inscription was in bad condition. At all events it was lopped off, and excellently reproduced in the style and spelling of the period in that convenient space below the Saint's figure. No great harm in this, perhaps, if the fact had been openly avowed in the catalogue, but it was rather disastrous to simple folk like myself who believed the inscription and date to be original, and used much time and midnight-oil in trying to divine how the less might contain the greater. But if I erred it was in the company of the intellectuals. Mr. Langton Douglas (C. & C. II 164, note, and III 92, note) reproduces the inscription without comment. The compiler of the Berlin catalogue, a keen-sighted observer, at least points out that it has been *restored*; but that is an error, for it has been *replaced*.

[18] The "Processus" is preserved in the Archives of the Archbishop's Palace. My sincere thanks are due to Monsignor Michele Cioni, the Archivist, and to Don Onorio Pugi, his able assistant, for help in using these priceless documents, and for leave to make a copy of the sketch. The copy, faithfully reproducing all defects, is the handiwork of Mr. Gordon Carmichael of Florence. Of course the sketches in the "Processus" of Saints may prove invaluable in enabling us to piece together again what the vandalism of the Leopoldine and Napoleonic suppressions so recklessly tore asunder and scattered. Once more it is the altar itself (and this time because of the Saints that were raised to it) that will enlighten us about that decorative part of it which to-day so much interests and delights the cultured man of the world.

Among the sketches is one of St. Humility with a weasel in her hand.

The Academy authorities in 1841 had no idea that there had once been a picture there. They believed only one, not two, of the "Quadretti" to be missing, namely the one on the Gospel side. They must have felt the desirability of filling the vacant space somehow, and a copy of the old inscription suited the purpose admirably. It is a most unfortunate circumstance that there is no date in the sketch. The copy of the inscription, too, given in the descriptive part of the "Processus", is without date. I know of two other copies of the inscription, and these, too, are both without date.[19] But there can be no sort of question that the date was there: and the MS. catalogue of the Accademia, compiled by the late Giovanni Masselli in 1864, expressly states that the date 1316 was in the old inscription.[20] Paul Schulbring has read this date as 1341, correcting Dr. Thode's correct reading of 1316.[21] If he had thought of interrogating the altar (1311), he would have learnt that the nuns would never have waited thirty years for their eagerly desired altarpiece. In fact I have difficulty in believing that they would have waited five years. The addition of an altar to a church was still a rare and great event at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it would be natural to suppose that the first altar dedicated to the foundress of a new Order—a stupendous event—would be ready in every respect before the great day of the consecration *coram populo* by the Bishop of Florence.

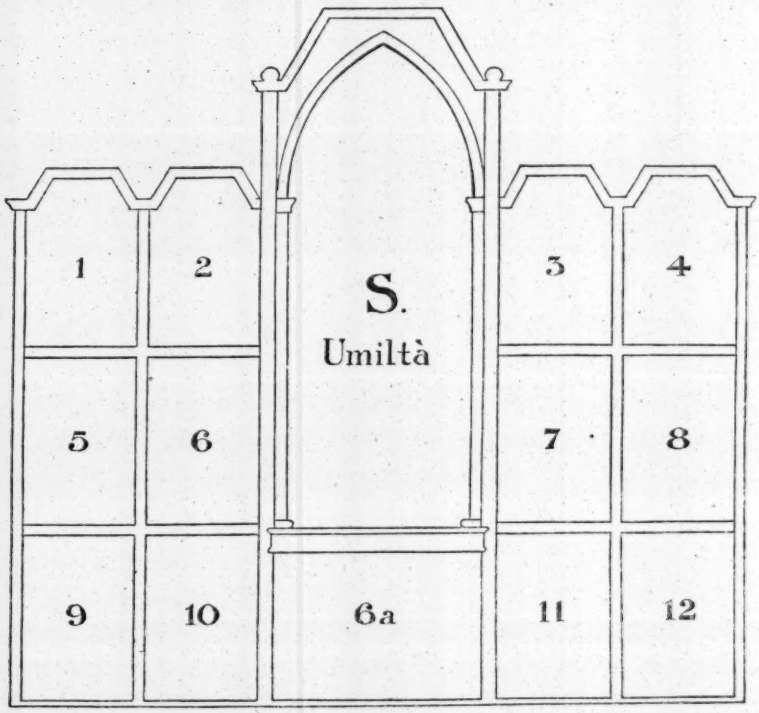
When the picture was taken to pieces in the Accademia store-rooms a hundred years ago, was a note kept of the order in which the "quadretti" ran? Was the altarpiece put together again in accordance with this note? Unfortunately there is no written record in the Accademia Archives to show us. But the order in which we now find the "quadretti", considered horizontally, or to adopt a simpler phrase, *fess-ways*, follows, with one exception, so perfectly the order of the Legend, that it is rather natural to suppose that this must

[19] "Breve Racconto della Vita . . . di S. Umiltà." (Anonymous.) Florence, 1722, p. 53. And Richa, "Chiese Fiorentine," Florence, 1754, Vol. I, 398.

[20] Fol. 62b. I am more than grateful to Dr. Nello Tarchiani, the Director of the Gallery, for being allowed to consult at my leisure and copy these valuable official records.

[21] *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 1901, p. 375. In an article entitled "Die primitiven Italiener im Louvre".

have been the original order. The pictures may have been numbered on the back when taken to pieces, and replaced according to their numbers. This is what I am tempted to think. On the other hand, upon an unlikely assumption, the Director of 1841 may have been familiar with the Legend, and, failing all records, have reconstructed the altarpiece in accordance with its sequence. I will proceed before further argument to describe succinctly the subjects of the "quadretti" in the order of the following skeleton. I indicate in brackets the paragraph of the Legend in which the incident is to be found:




1. (§ 4) Rosanese argues with Ugolotto for separation and the higher life.
2. (§ 4) A physician despairs of Ugolotto's life unless he embraces the celibate state.[22]

[22] This picture does not represent what I say. It represents instead a monk lying on a bed grievously ill, while the doctor despairs of saving him. But

3. (§ 5) Ugolotto is clothed in the Religious habit. The Saint kneels in thanksgiving behind him.
4. (§ 6) The Saint, at that time unlettered, is called upon to read in the Refectory of S. Perpetua, and is miraculously helped to do so.
5. (§ 8) The Saint is miraculously assisted to leave S. Perpetua, and walks dry-shod over the River Lamone to shelter in the Poor Clare Nunnery.
6. (§ 10) The Saint heals the foot of a Vallombrosan monk with the sign of the Cross.

6a. (§ 15) The Saint heals a Nun, despaired of by the doctors, of acute nasal hemorrhage (Berlin, No. 1077).

(The scenes in Nos. 1 to 6a took place at Faenza, the subsequent scenes all in Florence. In Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 the Saint is represented in Vallombrosan habit though not yet a Vallombrosan, which is natural enough.)

7. (§ 16) On the dexter side, St. John the Divine invites St. Humility to leave Faenza. On the sinister side she has arrived, with the Blessed Margaret and a lay sister, at the gates of Florence.
8. (§ 18) The Saint who went about the city with an ass collecting bricks and stones for San Giovanni Evangelista, arrives at the Church door with a load.
9. (§ 18) The Saint raises a child to life outside the Porta San Gallo. (This is the one instance in which the sequence of the Legend has not been followed. The picture is at present in No. 10, but throughout I have considered it as No. 9.)
10. (§ 28) The miracle of the ice in August already described (Berlin No. 1077A).
11. (§ 30) Two Nuns to whom the Saint is dictating her Sermons observe the Holy Ghost at her ear in the form of a Dove.

that I submit with the greatest confidence is an error due to some confusion. There is a monk despaired of in the Legend, but he is cured in No. 6, and it is inconceivable that the same subject, the same person, should receive two pictures in this limited series. The malady of Ugolotto was the turning point in the lives of both husband and wife, a fact of capital importance, and the intention must have been to introduce this into the scheme of the picture.

12. (§ 19) Burial of the Saint.[23]

On looking at the sketch it is deeply disappointing to find that the order of the "quadretti" there given is utterly different from the chronological and rational sequence now shown in the picture in the Accademia. Whether considered horizontally, or perpendicularly in pairs as numbered on the original sketch, there is neither method nor sequence in it. More than that: there are improbabilities and impossibilities. My No. 2, in the sketch, is in the space I have numbered 5, which is possible, but, owing to shape, highly improbable; my No. 5 is to be found in the space I have numbered 4, which is impossible, for you cannot fit a right-angled parallelogram into a figure that has two obtuse angles at the top. This fact alone destroys the value of the sketch as a record of the order in which the "quadretti" were originally framed, and while it has enabled us to solve some problems it plunges us into others which, in the light of our present knowledge, seem quite insoluble. On what criterion did the sketcher proceed? He has produced all the "quadretti", but in some cases certainly not in the order in which he saw them. Only four of them are in the positions which they now occupy in the picture. We may be quite certain, on account of shape, that Nos. 1 to 4 were in the upper row; the discussion between husband and wife would certainly be in the first space; the miracle of the nun could be in no other except in that which I have numbered 6a; the burial would be in the last space. It is a meagre result, but these are the only three positions one dare affirm with positive certainty.

But there is one other source of information on the order of the "quadretti" which should be infallible. We turn to it with avidity for light, only to find that it adds bewilderingly to the existing uncertainty. In 1688 the mighty Magliabechi, pattern and model of exactitude in research, sent to the giant Papebrochius, editor of the Legend in the *Acta Sanctorum*, a sketch of the central figure of the altarpiece with a list of the subjects of the "quadretti". The sketch is reproduced in the *Acta Sanctorum* (tom. cit.). It shows the

[23] The Legend proper ends with paragraph 22; the Supplement of Miracles embraces paragraphs 23 to 35.

Saint without halo and without lambskin, and the inscription and date are not given. Only twelve "quadretti" are cited; the space for No. 6a is wanting altogether, but the subject of it is in the list as being in my No. 6; my No. 2 is wanting; two of the right-angled parallelograms are described as being in the top row where the figures end in obtuse angles. The muddle—I think it is on both sides—is as inexplicable as it is maddening, but to make it obvious the following is a list of the "quadretti" as already given, with, in the first bracket, the order shown in the sketch of the "Processus" (S), and, in the second, the order as given by the Bollandist (B). In all three cases read *fessways*.

1. (S1) (B1) Ugolotto and Rosanese.
2. (S5) (wanting) Monk (really Ugolotto *in sæculo*) on a bed.
3. (S2) (B5) Ugolotto receiving the habit.
4. (S3) (B3) Suor Umiltà reads in the Refectory.
5. (S4) (B7) She leaves S. Perpetua for the anchoretic life.
6. (S6) (B9) The miracle of the monk.

6a. (S6a) (B10) The miracle of the nun.

7. (S7) (B11) The Saint leaves Faenza and arrives in Florence.
8. (S9) (B2) She collects stones for S. Giovanni Evangelista.
9. (S8) (B4) She raises a child from the dead.
10. (S11) (B8) The miracle of the ice.
11. (S10) (B6) The Holy Ghost inspires the Saint's writings.
12. (S12) (B12) Burial of the Saint.

But if documentary evidence fails, there is one circumstance which does warrant us in thinking that the original order was according to the sequence of the Legend: the four upper "quadretti", which could only appear where they do, deal with incidents in the Legend which happen before the incidents of the remaining nine pictures. It is not unreasonable therefore to conclude that they lead off a chronological series. If only the "quadretti" did originally run according to the sequence of the Legend, the fact would have consider-

able importance: it would prove luminously that the Legend was written within a year of the Saint's death. But proof positive fails us there where most of all we should have looked for it,—in the sketch of 1624; and chaos reigns supreme where we might have looked for perfect order,—in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Be that as it may, the altarpiece is still of great hagiographical importance, and has a lesson of no little moment to him who shall have had the patience to master all these minutiæ. The evidence in it runs directly counter to the school which considers the testimony to miracle sufficiently enfeebled, if it can trace a growth of the miraculous to a period long after the Saint's death. No effort of the kind is of avail here. Here we have very palpable miracle testified to in paint on the very morrow of the Saint's death. There has been no time for Time's accretions. Of the nuns who prayed before the picture there must have been some who had been present when that piece of ice was drawn out of the well. The scenes represented in these little pictures were not proposed by a late painter to another generation: they were offered to the Saint's daughters and contemporaries who knew the subjects and believed them before they were either written or painted. There is the Blessed Margaret, for instance, the Saint's intimate companion, who had been with her from the first, and survived her by twenty years:[24] she figures herself in this picture before the Gates of Florence. She probably was the mastermind in the choice of the subjects, and so wonderful a woman was her mistress in the spiritual life, so great are the marvels she has witnessed, that there is nothing to startle her faith or disturb her equanimity in the wonders here depicted. I do not desire by this train of reasoning to affirm the truth of any of St. Humility's miracles: but I do desire to bring out, as an elementary lesson to be learnt from this picture, that death and time are not necessary to the development of the miraculous in Legends, but that the here and now of a Saint's life may contain just as wonderfully inexplicable marvels as those that later on

[24] Died in San Giovanni Evangelista, Florence, 26 August, 1330. Her Legend may be read in the *A. SS.* (5th Volume of August, pp. 847-853), and her life is charmingly told in Magnani's Lives of the Faentine Saints and Blessed, Faenza, 1741.

may take growth with the aid of time and the many-colored weavings of the fancy of man.

MONTGOMERY CARMICHAEL.

*Livorno, Italy.*

## THE RULE OF SAINT COLUMBAN.

ST. COLUMBAN was a native of that wonderful Island of the West which, at the time of the migration of the nations, was the providential haven of refuge of the Britanno-Roman civilization and in the sixth and seventh centuries sent forth heroic bands of missionaries to the north and south of Europe, to Scandinavia and Italy, to Gaul and Germany. In obedience to the advice of a holy recluse he left his parents and his clan and entered the monastery of Bangor, on the coast of Down, which was then under the rule of its founder St. Comgall. There he received a thorough training in the science of the saints. After remaining there for many years he longed to go as a missionary to foreign lands. Comgall was loath to lose such a talented and exemplary monk, but gave his consent at last and, in 588 or 589, Columban set out with twelve other monks for Armorica, whither since 461 numerous Britons had retired with their priests rather than submit to the Anglo-Saxon conquerors. But Armorica was Celtic ground, a part, as it were, of his native land, and it was to strangers that he wished to devote his life. Passing through Frankish Gaul, torn at that time by endless civil wars and a prey to a recrudescence of paganism, he fixed his abode in Burgundy, where he founded in rapid succession the monasteries of Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaine, on the south-western slope of the Vosges Mountains, near the headwaters of the Meuse, the Moselle and the Saône. Following the custom of the Scots, he kept the headship of these houses himself, appointing over each community a provost, or local superior.[1] It was for these monasteries, peopled at the time by about two hundred monks, that Columban drew up his famous Rule,[2] which was destined to play such an important part in the monastic history of the seventh century.

[1] The origin, says Hefele, of what was afterwards called *Priorate*.

[2] Jonas, *Vita S. Columbani*, I, c. 10.

Of the many Rules written at different times and in different places by the fathers of Oriental monasticism, those of the younger Macarius, of Pachomius, and of Basil early found their way into Gaul through the translations of St. Jerome, of Rufinus of Aquileia, and of Cassian, and were modified by the founders of Gallic monasteries to suit local conditions. Thus there were almost as many monastic Rules in Gaul in the sixth century as there were heads of religious houses. The general principles of the monastic life were, of course, the same everywhere, but each abbot applied them with greater or less severity according to his individual character and early training As no monk was strictly bound to remain in the monastery in which he had been professed, there was an almost endless going to and fro from monastery to monastery, not so much in search of new rules as of new abbots. Even Lérins, that great nursery of asceticism and learning in the fifth and sixth centuries, did not exact stability from its monks, and as it possessed no written Rule, men flocked to it from all parts of Gaul and Italy to acquaint themselves with its institutions and to imbibe its spirit. Cæsarius of Arles was the first to attempt to put an end to these abuses by demanding from his monks not only absolute poverty but also perseverance in the monastery until death. His Rule, however, was adopted by but comparatively few monasteries, and even in these it was not observed to the letter.

It was reserved for Columban to do in Gaul what Benedict had done in Italy—to found an association of monks with a definite monastic constitution. Monasticism was, as it were, born again; but it did not grow and thrive and come to healthful maturity until the Benedictine and Columbanian Rules joined hands across the Alps.

The Rule of St. Columban consists of two parts, which are quite different from each other in scope and character: the first part, or what might be called the moral code, lays down the general principles on which the monastic life is based; the second part, or penal code, prescribes the penalties for various offences against the rule. The oldest documents bear witness to the fact that the two treatises originally formed parts of one and the same rule, though all the manuscripts, with one exception, have handed them down separately and under differ-

ent titles. The first is called: *Regula Monachorum S. Columbani Abbatis*; the second: *S. Columbani Abbatis Regula Coenobialis, seu de Quotidianis Poenitentiis Monachorum*; or also: *Regula Coenobialis Fratrum de Hibernia.*

### 1. The Regula Monachorum.

The authenticity of the *Regula Monachorum* has never been seriously called in question; it is, in fact, incontestable. No other of Columban's writings has been preserved to us in so many ancient manuscripts, and no other has been reprinted so often in modern times. St. Benedict of Aniane, the first reformer of the Benedictine order (about A. D. 800), quotes it repeatedly in his *Concordia Regularum*[3] as the work of the founder of Luxeuil, and the oldest and most trustworthy manuscripts, such as those of Bobbio, St. Gall, Ochsenhausen, and Augsburg, reproduce it under the title "Regula S. Columbani Abbatis".

The Bobbio manuscripts divide the Rule into ten chapters, the tenth being a quotation from the Epistle of St. Jerome to Rusticus, which was probably added to the original rule by Columban himself toward the end of his life. A Cologne manuscript of the fourteenth century omits the tenth chapter altogether, its place being taken by the *Regula Coenobialis.* The seventh chapter, which treats of the Divine Office, is not found in the Alamannian group of manuscripts. This is not to be wondered at, because, though quite Columbanian in spirit, it is evident that it is out of place where it now stands, wedged in as it is between the chapters on Chastity and Discretion. That it did not form part of the original Rule is further evidenced by the fact that it begins with the words: "De synaxi[4] ergo" — "Concerning the divine office therefore", and concludes with "Amen", which is not the case with any of the other chapters. Besides, it is the only chapter that does not contain merely general prescriptions but very precise and detailed regulations. The author's repeated appeals to the traditions of the Irish Fathers to justify the order of the daily psalmody adopted by him impart to the whole chapter,

[3] Edit. Hugo Menard, Paris, 1638 (Migne, Pat. Lat., t. 103).

[4] The word Synaxis (σύναξις) was used by the Greek Fathers not only for the Holy Sacrifice and Holy Communion but also for the choir service. See Cassian, *Instit.*, II, 10.

an apologetic character and give color to the surmise that it was added by Columban about the time that the Burgundian bishops took him to account for various practices at variance with those obtaining in the Frankish dominions. Copies of the Rule must have been in circulation before this addition was made, for only in this way can its omission from the Alamannian manuscripts be satisfactorily explained.[5]

In writing his Rule Columban had no intention of adding anything to the traditional views on the duties of monks; thoughts such as those expressed by him are met with in the writings of the Fathers and in all the monastic rules both before and after his time. We have already seen that the tenth chapter is a quotation from St. Jerome; the chapters on Obedience and Discretion contain passages taken verbatim from Cassian and St. Basil. And yet Columban's Rule is quite different from that of St. Basil or of St. Pachomius, of St. Benedict or of St. Cæsarius. The demands he makes on his monks are by no means new; new, however, is the energy with which these demands are carried to their highest pitch. It is this energy that stamps his rule with the mark of his personality and distinguishes it from every other; it is this energy also that accounts in no small measure for the rapid and widespread adoption of a monastic discipline whose unexampled severity was calculated rather to repel than to attract.

The following free translation of the Monastic Rule[6] is here presented to the reader in the hope that, in spite of its manifold shortcomings, it will enable him to gain a better idea of Columban's monastic ideal than any dissertation, no matter how learned or lengthy, could give him.

### The Monastic Rule of St. Columbanus, Abbot.

Above all things we must love God with our whole heart and with our whole mind and our neighbor as ourselves;[7] all our works must be informed with this love.

[5] Cf. Seebass, *Ueber Columba von Luxeuil's Klosterregel und Bussbuch*, pp. 11 ff.

[6] Columban's Rule was first printed in 1604 in Goldast's *Vetera Paraenetica*, Pars I, pp. 166 ff. Twenty years later it was included in the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, edited by Thomas Messingham, director of the Irish Seminary in Paris; and again in Patrick Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*. Louvain, 1667. The latest and best edition is that of Otto Seebass, *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1895, pp. 366 ff.

[7] Matth. 22:27.

1. *Concerning Obedience.* At the first word of a superior all must rise to obey, because by obeying him they obey God, according to the word of the Lord Jesus: "He that heareth you, heareth Me".[8] If, therefore, any one hearing a word of command does not rise straightway he shall be adjudged disobedient. Whoever contradicts incurs the crime of contumacy; he is not only guilty of disobedience but by opening the gateway of refractoriness to others he becomes the seducer of many. If anyone obeys with grumbling, his obedience, not coming from the heart, is disobedience: therefore, until he shows his good will, his work is of no avail.[9]

To what limits should obedience be carried? Obedience unto death is certainly enjoined on us, because Christ was obedient to His Father for us unto death.[10] "Let this mind be in you," says the Apostle, "which was also in Christ Jesus: who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled Himself, becoming obedient (to His Father) unto death, even to the death of the cross."[11] The true disciple of Christ must obey in all things; no matter how hard or distasteful the task laid upon him may be, he must set about its fulfillment with zeal and joy, because only such obedience is acceptable to the Lord, who says: "He that taketh not up his cross, and followeth Me, is not worthy of Me".[12] Wherefore also He says of the disciple worthy of Him: "Where I am, there also shall My minister be with Me".[13]

2. *Concerning Silence.* The Rule of silence must be diligently observed, for it is written: "The service of justice shall be quietness and peace".[14] All superfluity of words must be avoided; except in cases of necessity or utility, the monk must be silent, because, according to the Scripture, "in the multitude of words there shall not want sin".[15] Hence our Saviour says: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned".[16] Justly indeed shall they be condemned who would not, though able, speak just words, but preferred in their garrulousness to speak wicked, unjust, ungodly, vain, injurious, double-meaning, false, quarrelsome, abusive, shameful, absurd, blasphemous, harsh, and crooked words. These and such like words must never pass the lips

[8] Luke 10:16.

[9] See Rufinus's translation of the Rule of St. Basil. Pat. Lat., t. 103, p. 487. Greek text, Pat. Graec., t. 31, pp. 1162-3.

[10] Ibid. [11] Phil. 2:5-8. [12] Luke 14:27; Matt. 10:38.

[13] John 7:24; 12:16. Columban is fond of combining parts of different texts in one quotation.

[14] Ecclus. 32:17. [15] Prov. 10:19. [16] Matt. 12:37.

of the monk, whose tongue must ever be governed by prudence and right reason, lest by his talkativeness he be betrayed into detractions and contradictions born of pride.

3. *Concerning Food and Drink.* The food of the monks shall be coarse, consisting of cabbage, vegetables, flour mixed with water, and a biscuit, and taken toward evening.[17] Surfeiting must be guarded against in eating, and drunkenness in drinking, so that what is partaken may sustain, not injure, the body, for by overloading the stomach the mind becomes stupid. Those who look out for the eternal reward should satisfy only their real needs in this life. True discretion requires that food and work shall be duly proportioned. It is reasonable to promote spiritual progress by bringing the flesh into subjection by abstinence, but if abstinence is practised to excess, it ceases to be a virtue and becomes a vice. Hence the monk must fast daily, but also daily refresh his body with food; since he must indulge his body, he must do so sparingly and by means of the coarsest food; for only to this end does he eat daily that he may be able to make daily progress in virtue, pray daily, work daily, and read daily.

4. *Of Practising Poverty, and of Treading under Foot all Covetousness.* Monks to whom for Christ's sake the world is crucified and who are crucified to the world,[18] must sedulously guard against covetousness, seeing that it is wrong for them not only to be possessed of superfluities, but even to desire them. It is not what they possess that matters, but rather how their wills are affected by their possessions. Those who have left all things to follow Christ the Lord with the cross of daily fear have treasure in heaven. Therefore, as they are to possess much in heaven, they ought to be content with little, nay, with the barest necessaries on earth, remembering that in monks covetousness is a leprosy, as it was in Giezi, of the sons of the prophets; and the cause of treason and perdition, as it was in the disciple of Christ, and of death, as it was in Ananias and Saphira, the half-hearted followers of the Apostles. Utter nakedness, therefore, and contempt of earthly goods is the first perfection of the monk; the second is the cleansing of the heart from every vice; the third, perfect and unbroken love of God and of divine things, which is the fruit of renouncement of all things of earth. Few

[17] The monks of St. Martin of Tours also took their modest meal toward evening. From the *Reg. Coenobialis* we know that the ordinary beverage of the monks was beer. The ancient Irish monks lived most frugally. "Cum sedent ad mensam adferantur herbae sive radices aqua lotae in mundis scutellis; item pomacervisia et ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis, id est aliquot favi." (Colgan, *Acta Sanct. Hib.*, I, 328, note 7, ex regula S. Ailbei, a contemporary of St. Patrick.)

[18] Gal. 6 : 14.

indeed are the things that are really necessary to us to sustain life, or rather, according to the words of the Lord, but one thing, food. We need, however, to have our senses purified by the grace of God to understand spiritually the words of our Lord to Martha.

5. *Of Spurning Vanity.* The danger of vanity is shown by the few words addressed by our Saviour to His disciples, whose joy that spirits were subject to them was mingled with thoughts of vanity: "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven";[19] and to the Jews who justified themselves before men He says: "That which is high to men, is an abomination to God".[20] From these words and the well-known instance of the Pharisee whose works, though good in themselves, were not acceptable in the sight of God because he vaingloriously boasted of them (whereas the sins of the Publican, humbly confessed, were forgiven), we may gather that vanity and self-exaltation are the ruin of every good work. Therefore let no boastful word ever proceed out of the mouth of the monk, lest even his greatest work be rendered useless thereby.

6. *Concerning Chastity.* The chastity of the monk is judged by his thoughts. To him as well as to the disciples who heard them spoken these words of the Lord are addressed: "Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart".[21] Let him anxiously watch, lest He to whom he is consecrated, looking on him, find in his heart that which is abominable; lest, according to the words of St. Peter, he have eyes full of lust and adultery.[22] What does it profit him to be chaste in body if he is not chaste in mind? For God is a spirit and makes our spirit His dwelling-place, if He find it undefiled, free from adulterous thoughts and all stain of sin.

7. *Concerning Discretion.*[23] How necessary discretion is to the monk is shown by the errors of many and the ruin of not a few who, beginning their course without discretion, and persisting in it without this guiding knowledge, failed to bring it to a praiseworthy end. For, just as those who journey away from the path must necessarily go astray, so also will those who live without discretion of necessity fall into excess; which is opposed to virtue, for virtue is the mean between two extremes. On the right and the left of the path of discretion the enemy places divers stumbling-blocks and snares. We must therefore pray to God to grant us the light of true discretion to lighten the pathway of our life, surrounded as it is on all sides by the dense darkness of the world.

[19] Luke 10:18. [20] Ibid., 16:15. [21] Matt. 5:28.
[22] 2 Pet. 2:14.
[23] For this chapter cf. Cassian, *Conf.*, II, 1-5.

Discretion comes from the word *discernere*, which means to separate, to distinguish; it is the faculty by which we distinguish what is good from what is bad, what is mediocre from what is perfect. Just as light and darkness, so also were good and evil divided from the beginning, after evil had entered into the world through the devil, God having enlightened men to distinguish between them. Thus Abel, the God-fearing, chose good; Cain, the godless, evil. All the things that God made were good, but the devil, with deceitful cunning, oversowed evil among the good. What things, then, are good? Those which have remained whole and uncorrupted as they were created, which God, according to the Apostle, "hath prepared that we should walk in them, the good works in which we are created in Christ Jesus",[24] which are, goodness, integrity, piety, justice, truth, mercy, charity, salutary peace, spiritual joy, with the fruit of the Spirit: all these with their fruits are good. The things that are contrary to these are evil, which are, malice, impiety, injustice, lying, avarice, hatred, discord, bitterness, with the manifold fruits born of them. For the fruits of both good and evil are innumerable. . . .

We who have the assistance of God must at all times hold fast to what is good. In prosperity as well as in adversity we must implore the divine help that we may not be puffed up with pride when it goes well with us, nor be cast down with despair when it goes ill with us. True discretion is the inseparable companion of Christian humility and opens the way to perfection to the true soldier of Christ. . .[25] If we weigh all our actions in the just balance of true discretion, we shall never be betrayed into error; if we walk by the divine light of true discretion, we "shall not go aside neither to the right hand, nor to the left",[26] but keep ever on the straight way, chanting with the conquering Psalmist the words: "O my God, enlighten my darkness, for by Thee I shall be delivered from temptation".[27] For "the life of man upon earth is a temptation".[28]

8. *Concerning the Mortification of the Will.* Mortification is the most important part of the monastic rule. "Do nothing without counsel," says the Holy Scripture.[29] Wherefore, if nothing is to be done without counsel, everything must be done with counsel. Hence Moses commanded: "Ask thy father, and he will declare to thee, thy elders and they will tell thee".[30] Though this may appear hard

[24] Eph. 2:10.

[25] St. Benedict, *Reg.*, c. 64, calls discretion "the mother of the virtues." Bede says of St. Aidan: "He was found to be endued preëminently with the grace of discretion, which is the mother of virtues." H. E., III, 5.

[26] Deut. 5:32. [27] Ps. 17:29-30. [28] Job 7:1

[29] Ecclus. 32:24. [30] Deut. 32:7.

to the hard heart, viz., that a man be always dependent on the will of another, it is nevertheless sweet to those that fear God, if it be practised to the letter and not in part only; for nothing is sweeter, nothing gives greater peace and security to the mind than a peaceful conscience, and nothing is better calculated to procure this peace of conscience than the renunciation of one's own judgment. "There is greater danger in judging," some one has said, "than in being judged."[31] The monk who always seeks counsel and acts on it, will never go wrong; for even though the counsel he receives be wrong, his faith and obedience will be right and will be rewarded. But if a person, whose duty it is to ask counsel, acts on his own impulse, he errs by the very fact that he presumes to judge for himself when he should have allowed others to judge for him; and even if what he does be good, it will profit him little, seeing that he swerved from the right course while doing it: he whose sole duty it is to obey, never dares to judge for himself.

If this be so, the monk must fly all pride of liberty, and learn to obey with true humility, without hesitation, without murmuring, for only then will the yoke of Christ be sweet and His burden light. Until he has learned the humility of Christ, he cannot taste the sweetness of the yoke of Christ nor the lightness of His burden. For the soul, harrassed with sin and toil, finds repose only in humility. Humility is its sole refreshment amidst so many evils. The more it withdraws itself from the vanity and uncertainty without, the more rest and refreshment will it find within. What before seemed bitter, and hard, and painful, will now be light, and smooth, and pleasant. Mortification is indeed intolerable to the proud and hard of heart, but a consolation to him who loves only what is meek and lowly. No one, however, it must be remembered can attain to the full possession of the felicity of this martyrdom unless all his desires, all his aspirations be directed toward it, to the exclusion of every other aim whatsoever.

The mortification of the monk is threefold: he must never think what he pleases, never speak what he pleases, never go where he pleases. No matter how distasteful the command imposed on him may be, he shall always say to his superior: "Not as I will, but as thou wilt",[32] after the example of our Saviour, who says elsewhere:

[31] "Majus enim periculum judicantis quam ejus qui judicatur." Sixtus, Sent., 174. Sixtus, a Pythagorean philosopher of the second century, wrote Aphorisms, which Rufinus of Aquileia translated and published under the name of St. Sixtus, Pope and Martyr. They are condemned in the Decree of Pope Gelasius. St. Augustine pointed out Rufinus's mistake in ascribing them to Pope Sixtus.

[32] Matt. 26:39.

"I came down from heaven, not to do My will, but the will of Him that sent Me".[33]

10. *Concerning the Perfection of the Monk.* The monk shall live in a monastery under the rule of one father and in the company of many brethren, in order that he may learn humility from one, patience from another. One will teach him silence, another meekness. He shall not do what pleases him; he shall eat what is set before him, clothe himself with what is given him, do the work assigned to him, be subject to a superior whom he does not like. He shall go to bed so tired that he may fall asleep while going, and rise before he has had sufficient rest. If he suffers ill-usage, he shall be silent; he shall fear the head of the monastery as a master and love him as a father, being ever convinced that what he commands is profitable to him; nor shall he criticize the words of the elders, because it is his duty to obey and to do what he is bidden, as Moses says: "Attend, and hear, O Israel".[34]

Columban's Rule, as the reader will have remarked, is no monastic constitution in the strict sense of the word, but rather a treatise on the monastic life, a vade-mecum for monks, a mirror of perfection. With such a rule alone no monastery could have been governed even by a man of Columban's marvelous energy. It does not contain a word about the election of the abbot or the other persons in authority in a monastery; nor about the relations of the abbot to the individual monks and to the communities subject to him. Prescriptions in regard to the daily occupations of the monks are entirely wanting. Neither the time for rising nor the time for retiring to rest is fixed. The direction quoted from St. Jerome, that the monk should go to bed so tired that he may fall asleep while going, and rise before he has had sufficient rest, aside from the fact that it was not contained in the original draft of the Rule, could not have been followed out to the letter. The time for the only daily meal is rather vaguely specified as "vespertinus", in the afternoon. The monks are told that they must work and pray and read daily, but there is not the remotest allusion to the amount of time to be devoted to each of these duties. Only in regard to the order of the Divine Office did Columban think it expedient to put down in

[33] John 6:38. Cf. Rule of St. Francis of Assisi, 10: "The brothers shall remember that, before God, they have discarded their own wills."

[34] Deut. 27:9.

writing definite and detailed regulations, which, as we have seen, were afterward incorporated in the Rule itself.

He has been induced, he says,[35] to commit to writing certain points to be observed in regard to the daily psalmody, because the practice in this matter is by no means uniform.[36] Some divide the night into four vigils, viz., nightfall, midnight, cock-crow, and early morning, at which twelve psalms are recited or chanted throughout the year. For the long nights of winter this office seems too short to Columban, and for the short nights of summer he thinks the "frequent expeditions" from the cells to the church too burdensome and exhausting. Besides, he is of opinion that the length of the nocturnal office should vary not only according to the length of the nights, but also according to their sacredness; for with the Irish Fathers he makes a distinction between the ordinary nights and the "holy and most reverent vigils of Saturday and Sunday."

Columban prescribes three night offices, which were chanted in common in the church. At nightfall and at midnight twelve psalms[37] were the rule for the whole year, but for Matins the cursus was regulated as follows. On ordinary or ferial nights from 25 March until 25 September twenty-four psalms were chanted, sixteen by all the monks in unison, eight as antiphons,[38] that is, by two choirs alternately. From 25 September the quantity gradually increased until, on 1 November, thirty-six was reached, which number was kept up throughout the winter months. From 1 February, when the nights begin to grow shorter, the number of psalms gradually decreased

[35] Reg. Monach. (ed. Seebass), chap. 7.

[36] For the different practices obtaining in the fourth and fifth centuries in the East and West, see Cassian, *Instit.*, II, pp. 1 ff.

[37] From the *Vita S. Brendani* we learn that in Ireland in his time (sixth century) 12 Psalms were sung at Vespers—Ps. 112, 103 and ten gradual psalms beginning with Ps. 119. (*Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 133) The practice of singing 12 psalms at nightfall (and at midnight) is of Egyptian origin.

[38] Ἀντιφωνεῖν = ex adverso, reciproce et alternatim canere. Antiphonal singing is of Oriental origin and can be traced back to St. Ignatius of Antioch. (Baeumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, p. 122.) The Irish ascribed its introduction to St. Mark. At the time of St. Jerome and Cassian the verses of the Psalms were not sung or recited alternately by the monks, but each one, when his turn came, recited or chanted a whole Psalm, while the rest listened. Cf. Jerome's *Letter to Rusticus*, c. 15: "Sing your Psalm when it is your turn." See Cassian, *Conf.*, VI, 5.

until the summer cursus was reached at the time of the vernal equinox.[39] At the Saturday and Sunday Matins thirty-six psalms were sung from 1 May until 25 July; with the summer solstice the cursus was gradually lengthened, at first by selecting longer hymns and psalms, then, beginning with 1 August, by adding three psalms each week until, on 1 November, the maximum of seventy-five was reached, which was the winter cursus. With 1 February the cursus was shortened by three psalms a week until the summer cursus was reached on the first of May.

The day office was the same all the year round. Several times during the day, between the hours of work—how often or at what hours, we are not told—the monks assembled in the church and recited or chanted three psalms. These were interspersed with special prayers[40] offered up "for their own sins, for the whole Christian people, for the priests and the other consecrated servants of God, for their benefactors, for the peace of kings, and, lastly, for their enemies, that God may not lay it to their charge as a sin that they persecute and calumniate them, for they know not what they do."

These prayers, or versicles, as Columban calls them, are identical in scope with the third series of Collects in the famous Antiphonary of Bangor,[41] a copy of which (in its earlier form, of course) had been brought to Gaul by Columban. From the same source we learn that a lesson from the Scriptures was read at the Sunday Matins, and that hymns were sung at the midnight and matin service on the feasts of the holy martyrs and on all Saturdays and Sundays of the year. One of the most beautiful hymns in the whole Antiphonary is the following,[42] which, as the opening line implies, was chanted at the midnight office:

[39] 25 March according to the Celtic computation.

[40] "Cum versiculorum augmento intervenientium, pro peccatis. . . ." These prayers are called *Capitella* or *Capitula de Psalmis* in the Rules of Cæsarius and Aurelian, and by the Council of Agde (506). In the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 9) they are called "supplicatio litaniae."

[41] Antiphonarium Bench., Fol. 20 & 21: "Pro baptizatis pro fraternitate, . . pro pace populorum et regum . . . pro impiis, pro benefactoribus, pro eleemosynam facientibus. . . ."

[42] Some attribute this hymn to St. Ambrose. Cf. Baeumer, *Gesch. des Breviers*, p. 167.

1.

Mediae noctis tempus est;
Prophetica vox admonet;
Dicamus laudes Deo
Patri semper et Filio,

2.

Sancto quoque Spiritui,
Perfecta enim Trinitas
Uniusque substantiae
Laudanda nobis semper est.

3.

Terrorem tempus hoc habet,
Quocum vastator angelus
Aegypto mortem intulit,
Delevit primogenita.

4.

Haec justis hora salus est,
Et quos idem tunc angelus
Ausus punire non erat,
Signum formidans sanguinis.

5.

Aegyptus flebat fortiter
Tantorum diro funere,
Solus gaudebat Israhel
Agni protectus sanguine.

6.

Nos vero Israhel sumus,
Laetamur in te, Domine,
Hostem spernentes et malum
Christi defensi sanguine.

We read of Fathers of the Desert who were accustomed to recite the entire psalter every day, but no monastic rule of which we have knowledge prescribes a psalmody even remotely as long as that of Columban. St. Benedict, following the practice of the Egyptian monks, appointed twelve psalms for each night, and commanded that "under all circumstances the entire psalter, to the number of 150 psalms, be said every

week"; the Rule of St. Columban exceeds this measure by far, for during the winter months 330 psalms were chanted each week at Matins alone and 252 at the other canonical hours—an average of more than 83 for each day.

It was not on his own initiative that Columban prescribed such a vast number of psalms for the Divine Office, for he tells us expressly that in this matter he was following the tradition of his countrymen. "Far from becoming weary of singing so many psalms, the Celtic monks", he says, "experienced the greatest sweetness in this exercise." We know that the primitive Irish saints were passionately fond of music and singing. When the songs of the bards had been consecrated and transfigured by the true faith, they became so beautiful, says an ancient writer, that the Angels leaned over the battlements of heaven to listen to them. "In the early ages of the church many of the ecclesiastics took great delight in playing on the harp; and for this purpose commonly brought a small harp with them when on the mission, which beguiled many a weary hour in the intervals of hard work." [43] In the seventh and eighth centuries Irish teachers of music were as much in request on the Continent as those of literature and philosophy, and it was under the direction of the monk Maengal or Marcellus, an Irishman, that the music school of St. Gall attained its highest fame.

The Antiphonary of Bangor, also, bears striking testimony to the great esteem in which sacred music and song were held in the ancient Irish church; for in all the hymns to the Fathers of the Faith mention is made of their having promoted sacred chant: "Patrick," we are told, "sang hymns and psalms to God"; "Comgall offered sacrifice to the Most High God with hymns and canticles", and "Cronan sang hymns to Christ".

But the ancient Irish saints were passionately fond of the Holy Scriptures, too, especially of the Psalms, no doubt because they were intended to be sung. Do we not read of Ossian, the son of Finn, that he complained to St. Patrick because his psalms and sacred hymns had silenced the harps of the bards? St. Columban himself studied the Psalms assiduously in his youth and at the School of Sinell in Cluain-Inis wrote a commentary on them which is still extant. If we bear all this in

[43] P. W. Joyce, *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland*, p. 251 (2d ed.).

mind, we can readily understand why Columban devoted so much space in his Rule to psalmody and wished his monks to look upon it as one of their chief occupations.

Lest however the monks might think that long prayers alone were pleasing to God, he reminds them that they will be heard, not for much singing and long standing, but for purity of heart and intention. Nor should they be content with the prayers in common: their every movement should be a prayer, for "we are commanded by the Author of our salvation to watch and pray at all times", and St. Paul tells us: "Pray without ceasing".

## 2. The Regula Coenobialis.[44]

In the *Regula Monachorum* Columban tells his monks what virtues they must practise in order to attain perfection, insisting not so much on the reasons why they should be cultivated as on the degree in which they must be aimed at—obedience unto death, absolute poverty, daily fasting, chastity in thought as well as in action, complete mortification of the will and the judgment, prayer without ceasing. But, as Professor Hauck says, Columban was not content with the energy of command: in the second part of his Rule he displays an energy of punishment never equaled, much less surpassed, by any monastic legislator.[45] The high ascetical ideal which he had traced for his followers was not to remain a dead letter, but was to be realized at all hazards.

Although the Regula Coenobialis is not found in all the older manuscripts under Columban's name, the evidence in favor of its authenticity is nothing short of conclusive. Even a cursory glance at the contents of the Regula Monachorum will make it clear to anyone that this cannot have been the famous Rule of Columban which was so widely observed and which raised up such a violent storm of opposition. A monastic Rule without sanctions to enforce its prescriptions is sim-

[44] Seebass, the editor of the *Regula Monachorum*, has also edited the *Regula Coenobialis* in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, XVII, 218-234. He divides it into 15 chapters, combining the two recensions—a shorter and a longer one—and distinguishing the older from the younger by bolder type. The first nine chapters are genuine; the rest show numerous interpolations. (Cf. Krusch, *Vit. Col.*, Introd., p. 25.)

[45] *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, I, p. 271.

ply unthinkable. Now the Rule of St. Columban which was known to his biographer, Jonas of Bobbio, did contain disciplinary as well as ethical and ascetical directions. Speaking of the manner of life of Columban and his companions, he says: "The vice of discord was held in abhorrence by them. and pride and arrogance were visited with severe corporal punishment . . . No one dared to contradict another or to speak a harsh word to him. . . . They had all things in common, and if anyone attempted to appropriate anything for his own use, he was cut off from the company of the others and subjected to penitential discipline." [46] Corresponding regulations are contained in the first and fifth chapters of the Regula Coenobialis.

After Columban's death, Agrestius, a former monk of Luxeuil, began a vehement agitation against his Rule.[47] Summoned before a synod of Gallic bishops and called upon to specify his charges, he said that the monks of Luxeuil were obliged to make the sign of the cross over the spoon with which they ate, and to kneel for a blessing when going out or coming in. Turning to the Regula Coenobialis, we read in Chapter I: "Whosoever shall not make the sign of the cross over the spoon with which he eats, shall be punished with six strokes of the lash"; and in Chapter 3: "Whosoever shall not kneel for a blessing when leaving the monastery or returning to it, shall be chastised with twelve strokes of the lash."

In his life of Attala Jonas tells us that immediately after Columban's death many of the monks of Bobbio left the monastery because, as they said, "they could no longer bear the weight of the rigorous discipline prescribed by the Rule", and it required all the zeal and energy and tact of Attala to prevent the disruption of the entire community.[48] Surely these monks could not have acted as they did unless some other Rule besides the Regula Monachorum of Columban had been in force in Bobbio.

About twenty-five years after the death of Columban, Donatus, a pupil of Luxeuil and since 624 bishop of his native town of Besançon, compiled a monastic rule for a monastery of women founded by his mother Flavia on one of her estates. In the preface he expressly states that his Rule is based on the

[46] *Vit. Col.*, I, 5. [47] *Vit. Col.*, II, 9. [48] *Vit. Col.*, II, 1.

Rules of St. Benedict, St. Cæsarius, and St. Columban. The chapters on the Divine Office and on Silence are taken verbatim from the Regula Monachorum, and a large number of disciplinary regulations from the Regula Coenobialis of Columban.[49] Hence there can be no doubt that Donatus, when he wrote his Rule between the years 640 and 650, had before him a written copy not only of the Monastic Rule but also of the Cenobitical Rule of his master, and that he looked on both as integral parts of one and the same Rule.

Much more evidence, external and internal, could be adduced in favor of the Columbanian authorship of the Regula Coenobialis, but what has been said is amply sufficient, we believe, to settle the question.

But the two Rules, it will be urged, are so radically different from each other as to make unity of authorship impossible. It is indeed hard to believe that the man who wrote the chapter on Discretion in the one could have laid down penalties whose severity is out of all proportion to the offences in the other. It is perhaps still harder to conceive that the tender-hearted father of his children who, when forced into exile, wrote to his successor: "Give Waldelenus for me the kiss which, in the hurry of departure, I could not give him myself", could ordain that these his beloved children should be punished with six, ten, twelve, or fifty stripes for coughing at the beginning of a psalm, or for forgetting to pray before setting about the fulfillment of some task assigned to them, or for excusing themselves when reprimanded. We must remember, however, that there were two sides to Columban's character. Like most of the Celtic saints he possessed a full share of tenderness of character, but like them, too, he was eager, wilful, dauntless and passionate. The severity of the Rule of Bangor, under which he had lived so many years, his own ascetical life and character and his hot indignation at the prevalent corruption of morals in the Frankish dominions, doubtless influenced him to put so keen an edge on his penitential regulations. He saw that self-mortification and penance, without which a reformation of morals was out of the question, were no longer practised by the mass of the clergy and the people. Not being himself

[49] See the Rule of St. Donatus in Holstenius, *Codex Regularum*, VI, 377 ff. (also in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, t. 103).

clothed with any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he could not enforce discipline outside his monastery: he could exhort, denounce, but not pronounce sentence or inflict punishment. So he determined to carry out his plans of reform where alone he could do so without let or hindrance—in the monasteries subject to his authority. From their sacred precincts preachers of penance would then go forth in all directions and by their word and still more by the example of their mortified lives gradually change the face of the land.

The penitential discipline to which Columban subjected his monks, the old ones as well as the young ones, the priests as well as the lay-brothers, the sons of the Frankish and Burgundian nobles as well as the sons of the tradesmen and the peasants, was anything but flattering to the animal man. Besides confessing their sins to a priest before assisting at Mass and receiving Holy Communion,[50] the monks were obliged to accuse themselves of their sins against the Rule to their superior or to one of the older brothers at least once a day, either before the repast, or before retiring to rest, or at some other convenient time.[51] "We must accuse ourselves," says Columban, "not merely of our grievous sins but also of our lesser faults, because confession and penance save the soul from death, and the Scripture tells us: 'He that contemneth small things, shall fall by little and little'".[52] After confession the penitent was subjected to severe correction, which served the double purpose of making atonement for past infidelity and of preventing as far as possible a relapse into the same defects.

If he sinned against poverty by calling anything his own, he received six strokes of the lash; if through covetousness he appropriated anything for his own use, it was confiscated, and he was punished with two hundred stripes. If through carelessness he caused the loss of food or drink, he had to remain

[50] It is impossible to say with certainty how often Mass was celebrated in the Celtic monasteries. At Iona, in the time of St. Columba, Mass was sung on Sundays and feast days and when a benefactor of the monastery died. (Adamnan, Vit. Col., II, 12, 23, 45.) In the Columbanian monasteries Mass was celebrated on Sundays and on the 30th day after the death of a member of the Community. (Jonas, V. Col., II, 12, 16.)

[51] St. Basil recommends examination of conscience and public accusation every evening. "Εἴ τι γέγονε παρὰ τὸ δέον . . . τῷ κοινῷ ἐξαγγελλέτω. *Sermo asceticus*, 5.

[52] Ecclus. 19: 11.

standing in the choir during the Night Office without moving hand or foot whilst the others chanted twelve psalms; and, if the quantity spoiled exceeded a measure, he was condemned to drink water instead of beer until the total loss was made up.

If the penitent was distracted during grace before dinner, or did not answer Amen; if he talked without necessity, cut the table with his knife, or neglected to make the sign of the cross over his spoon before using it, he received six or even ten stripes.

If he visited others in their cells without permission, or entered the kitchen after dinner, that is, after three o'clock in the afternoon, or went outside the enclosure of the monastery, the penalty consisted of an extra fast, called a *superpositio* (superimpositio). If he did not ask a blessing from the superior or from one of the senior monks before leaving the monastery or on returning to it, or did not make a profound inclination to the cross erected at the entrance, he was punished with twelve stripes. The same penance was prescribed for omitting to pray before beginning or after finishing any task.

Coughing at the beginning of a psalm, or singing badly, or smiling when another made a mistake, or omitting to make the prescribed inclination at the end of each psalm, was visited with six stripes; laughing, unless for some excusable reason, was punished with an extra period of silence or fasting.

Whoever touched the Chalice—all the monks except the novices received Communion under both species—was punished for his irreverence with six strokes of the lash. The same punishment was inflicted on the priest who celebrated Mass with uncut nails, and on the deacon who officiated with unshaved beard. Under the same penalty priest and deacon were cautioned not to allow their eyes to wander about during the Holy Sacrifice. Twelve stripes were inflicted on those who received the *eulogia*, or blessed bread, with unwashed hands, and a hundred on those who did not make the oblation before the time for beginning Mass was at hand. Whoever did not have the *Chrismal*, that is the little vase with the holy oils,[53] about him when doing some work at a distance

[53] Some authors say that the *Chrismal* was a small, patin-shaped vessel in which the monks carried the consecrated species about with them on their journeys.

from the monastery, was punished with twenty-five stripes; if he lost it in the field, but found it again immediately, the penalty was fifty stripes; if it remained in the forest all night, a longer fast was imposed.

If the penitent told idle tales to another and did not immediately reprehend himself for it by saying: "I was in fault; I am sorry", but tried to excuse himself, he was condemned to a period of silence, or punished with fifty stripes. The same correction was administered to a junior brother if he said to a senior: "What you say is not true", and to anyone who reprimanded the brother porter in a loud voice for some neglect of duty. Whoever was guilty of a sin of pride and obstinacy was confined to his cell until he acknowledged his fault and humbly begged to be readmitted among the brothers. If anyone presumed to say to the Provost: "You shall not decide my case; I appeal to the Father Abbot or to the whole community", he was condemned to fast on bread and water for fifty days, unless he straightway fell on his knees and begged pardon for his fault, saying: "I repent of what I said."

Whoever criticized the work of others, or told a pupil that he should learn his lesson or do the task assigned to him by his instructor with more diligence, was subjected to three periods of fasting or silence. Whoever spoke ill of others or failed to rebuke those who did so, was visited with the same punishment. Lying was punished with a two days' fast.[54]

Talking alone with a woman, or sleeping under the same roof with a person of the other sex, was punished with a hundred stripes or a fast of three days on bread and water. No penalties were laid down for actual sins of the flesh. Columban regarded them in the same light as Solon did parricide. When asked why he had not enacted punishments against those who take the lives of their parents, the Athenian legislator replied: "Because no one is capable of committing such a crime."

No matter how toilsome or sordid the work might be in which he was engaged, the penitent was not allowed to wash his head during the time that his penance lasted, except on

[54] In the Rule of St. Cæsarius of Arles lying is punished with 30 blows of the rod. The same Rule prescribes punishment on the spot for those who come late for the Divine Office: "statim de ferula in manus accipiat" (c. 11).

Sundays, or when, for reasons of cleanliness, the superior thought it advisable to permit him to do so. The Provost could impose smaller penances at table; he was also empowered to remit one half of the penalty prescribed by the Rule for any offence. More than twenty-five strokes of the lash could not be given at one time.

Such is a brief summary of the penitential prescriptions of the *Regula Coenobialis*. They are characteristic of their author. In them Columban's utter contempt of all earthly things, his ardent thirst for self-renouncement, his indomitable energy, and his inexorable logic assume palpable shape, as it were. Every moment of the life of the true monk, "to whom the world is crucified, and who is crucified to the world," must be an act of worship of God. Obedience is the foundation on which the edifice of monastic perfection must be reared. There must be nothing unpremeditated, nothing spontaneous in the daily actions of the aspirant to sanctity: nothing must be done without a previous command; every assertion of the individual will must be mercilessly suppressed. By curbing, breaking, annihilating his will, by subjecting it unhesitatingly to the will of his superiors, the monk will gradually obtain that perfect mastery over his passions which is the final object of all asceticism.

To attain this object Columban went beyond the bounds of prudence and discretion. He thought that virtue in its sublimest degree could be forced upon poor weak human nature, and that vices and imperfections of every kind could be ground to pieces.

If we compare the Rule of St. Columban with that of St. Benedict, we must concede the palm of superiority to the latter. The Benedictine Rule has, in the first place, the advantage of greater moderation. Corporal punishment is also prescribed, but sparingly, and to be applied only to the "unruly, the hard-hearted, the proud, and to boys and those under age". Benedict makes allowance for the weak and infirm, permitting them the use of meat and other indulgences; in Columban's Rule relaxation of any kind is not even hinted at.

But the Benedictine Rule is not only the work of a man of great prudence; its author was also possessed of an extraordinary talent for organization. Columban was one of those

men who cannot bear to be hedged in by written statutes: he was absolute monarch in his monasteries; his personality, his activity, his vigilance, and spirit of initiative supplied the place of definite constitutions. This is why the administration of his monasteries remained in a rudimentary state. The Rule refers to provosts named by the abbot and in his absence invested with the same absolute power as he; there is a vague allusion to a body of consultors or a chapter of monks, and to an econome, or steward, and his subordinates; and we learn incidentally that there were such functionaries as cooks, refectorians, cellarers, masters of manual labor, doorkeepers and regulators. The monks were divided into two classes: seniors and juniors, but no distinction is made between novices and professed members, priests and lay-brothers. Intellectual pursuits were certainly not neglected, for we know that the school of Luxeuil was famed far and wide, but there is only a passing mention of instructors and pupils. We can infer from certain prescriptions that the three vows which constitute the essence of the monastic life were taken by the monks, and that perseverance in their vocation was required from them, but there is not a word about the requisites for admission or the time of probation. In the Rule of St. Benedict, on the other hand, all these matters are carefully regulated, thus supplying what the Rule of St. Columban lacked, viz., eminently practical statutes for any association of monks. No wonder that, when once it became known, it was welcomed with alacrity.

Even in his own monasteries the Rule of St. Columban was gradually supplanted by that of St. Benedict.[55] From what has been said it will be seen that this was not due to external causes, nor to the action of any one man whose influence could be compared even remotely to that of the great Celt; it was rather the natural consequence of the peculiar character of the Columbanian Rule.

GEORGE METLAKE.

*Cologne, Germany.*

[55] The Rule of St. Columban was probably observed in Luxeuil and Bobbio together with that of St. Benedict till 817, when the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, at the request of Louis the Pious, made the Benedictine Rule obligatory on all the monasteries in the Carlovingian dominions.

# Analecta.

## S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

### Decretum de Vigiliis ad Reliquias Martyrum persolvendis in nocte ante Dedicationem Ecclesiae.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens quaestio, pro opportuna solutione, proposita fuit; nimirum:

Iuxta Pontificale Romanum tit. *de ecclesiae dedicatione seu consecratione*, celebrandae sunt vigiliae ante Reliquias sanctorum Martyrum quae in altari consecrando includentur; et canendi Nocturni et Matutinae Laudes in honorem eorundem sanctorum; quaeritur:

Nocturni et Laudes in casu sumendine sunt e novo Psalterio Breviarii Romani per dies hebdomadae disposito; an e Communi plurimorum martyrum; et quo ritu canendi?

Et sacra Rituum Congregatio, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, praepositae quaestioni ita respondendum censuit: "In casu vigiliae persolvantur cum Matutino trium nocturnorum et Laudibus de Communi plurimorum martyrum, sub ritu duplici, cum Oratione de III loco *Deus qui nos*,

omisso verbo *annua*, et nominibus reticitis, iuxta decretum n. 2886, *Cenomanen.*, 14 iunii 1845."

Atque ita rescripsit ac declaravit. Die 18 augusti 1913.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Ep. Charyst., *Secretarius.*

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## S. CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII.

### (Sectio de Indulgentiis.)

DECRETUM.

Indulgentia jam concessa Fidelibus se invicem salutantibus per invocationem Nominis Iesu, etiam Mariae adjecto nomine, manet.

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## APOSTOLICA DELEGATIO STATUUM FOEDERAT. AMERICAE SEPTENTRIONALIS.

EXTENSIO FACULTATIS CIRCA SOCIETATES SECRETAS.

*Eme ac Rme Domine,*

Excepi aestimatissimas litteras Eminentiae Tuae Rmae datas die 15 Maii decurrentis anni circa Societates secretas "Knights of Pythias", "Odd Fellows", et "Sons of Temperance", ac petitionem Illmorum et Rmorum istius Reipublicae Archiepiscoporum, ut extendatur scilicet ad singulos Ordinarios facultas concedendi fidelibus qui memoratis Societatibus adscripti sunt licentiam in iis passive remanendi, judicio Emorum ac Rmorum DD. Cardinalium una mecum Inquisitorum Generalium confestim subjeci. Qui, rebus diligenter perpensis, in Congregatione habita feria IV, die 26 nuper elapsi mensis Junii decreverunt:

Firmis manentibus Facultatibus Delegati Apostolici, supplicandum SSmo pro extensione Facultatis ad singulos Archiepiscopos, ad unumquemque pro sua respectiva provincia, servatis prorsus omnibus conditionibus decreti IV diei 19 Januarii 1896, onerata eorum conscientia. Et insequenti feria V die 27 ejusdem mensis Junii Sanctitas Sua petitam extensionem juxta Emorum ac Rmorum Patrum suffragia benigne concessit.

Haec ego Eminentiae Tuae significans impensam Tibi observantiam atque existimationem obtestor, ac summa veneratione manus humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Tuae Rmae Humillimus ac Addictissimus

M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

EMO AC RMO DNO CARD ARCHIEPISCOPO BALTIMOREN.

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## PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS.

*2 August:* Mgr. Joseph Holder, Vicar General of the Diocese of Dunkeld, made Provost of the Cathedral Chapter.

*3 August:* Peter Darey and Paul Lagier, residents of Peterborough, Canada, made Knights of the Order of St. Gregory the Great (civil class).

*6 August:* The Right Rev. Joseph Mary Koudelka, titular Bishop of Germanicopolis, made Bishop of Superior.

——— The Rev. J. G. L. Forbes, pastor of St. John's Church, Montreal, made Bishop of Joliet.

——— The Rev. Francis Xavier Brunet, Secretary of the Archbishop of Ottawa, made Bishop of Mont Laurier (Canada).

*14 August:* John Sutton, of the Diocese of Lincoln, Nebraska, made Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great (civil class).

# Studies and Conferences.

## OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

S. CONGREGATION OF RITES decides the rite to be observed and the Nocturns and Lauds to be sung on the eve of the dedication of a church.

S. CONGREGATION OF HOLY OFFICE (Section of Indulgences) confirms the indulgence to be gained by the faithful who in saluting each other invoke the Holy Name, and add the name of the Blessed Virgin.

APOSTOLIC DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES announces the extension to the Archbishops of the Union of the faculty whereby, under given circumstances, passive membership in the condemned secret societies may be permitted.

ROMAN CURIA gives a list of recent Pontifical appointments.

## THE FACULTY OF ABSOLVING PASSIVE MEMBERS OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

By a Decree of the S. Congregation of the Holy Office, 20 June, 1894, certain Secret Societies, allied, by reason of the absolute secrecy to which their members bind themselves, to the Masonic societies, were condemned by name as dangerous alike to the commonwealth and to religion. Among these were the Orders of "Odd Fellows", "Knights of Pythias", and "Sons of Temperance". Catholics are forbidden to join these Orders under pain of separating themselves from the Catholic Church, and of forfeiting thus the right of participation in her Sacraments, as well as burial in her communion. In the carrying-out of this decree it became plain that numerous Catholics had joined in good faith the Societies named, and for the sole reason that these Societies were also beneficial and insurance associations, which guaranteed to their members a certain sum upon the payment of periodical premiums, to be disbursed to them in sickness or, in case of death, to their designated kin. Such Catholics would naturally, by voluntarily withdrawing from the Society, forfeit the benefits to which their membership in good standing entitled them.

This would not only entail positive loss of the premiums paid to the Society, but in many cases would cause serious hardship to those who depended upon such relief.

Accordingly it was asked of the S. Congregation whether such persons might retain their nominal or passive membership in the Society, for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of their payments, provided they did not coöperate with the aims of the society in any other way which their conscience would disapprove.

The Holy See sanctioned this arrangement under the following conditions:

1. that such members had actually joined the Society in good faith, not knowing that it was wrong;

2. that the retention of membership in the forbidden society would not become a source of scandal to others; or at least that an adequate statement be made to the effect that membership is retained solely for the purpose of obtaining the benefits to which the member is entitled in equity; and that such member has no intention of participating in the activities of the Society by attending its regular meetings, etc.;

3. that the absolute withdrawal from membership would be a real hardship to the parties concerned;

4. finally, that there be no danger of the parties thus benefited being drawn away from their faith, or of being forced to accept non-Catholic burial service.

Where these conditions were simultaneously verified, a dispensation to retain passive membership in the Society was to be obtained by an appeal to the Apostolic Delegate, who was made the judge whether the circumstances of the case submitted warranted such dispensation.

This was declared in a decree addressed to the Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal Satolli, 18 January, 1896.

Some time during the summer of last year the American Bishops, through the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, made representations to the Holy Office that, since in nearly every instance it was necessary to consult the Ordinary as to the details of such cases occurring within his jurisdiction, it would simplify matters if the Faculty hitherto reserved to the Apostolic Delegate were extended to the Bishops of the country.

The answer comes from Cardinal Rampolla to Cardinal Gibbons, to the effect that the said extension is granted, not indeed to all the Ordinaries, but to the Archbishops for their respective Provinces. The Apostolic Delegate retains the same rights as heretofore, and would probably use them in case of appeal or dispute. All the conditions set down in the original faculty are to remain intact, and the Archbishops are referred to the terms of that faculty as binding in conscience. We give here the decree of 1896 to which reference is made, for the greater convenience of the reader.

S. R. U. INQUISITIO.

DECRETUM CIRCA SOCIETATES "ODD FELLOWS", "KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS", "SONS OF TEMPERANCE".

Quaesitum fuit an *remota quavis alia earundem sectarum participatione,* hoc saltem liceat, nomen proprium in sociorum catalogis retinere, nec non in praefatae taxae vel aeris alieni solutione stato tempore perseverare. Quod dubium sane gravissimum cum SS.D.N. Sacrae huic Supremae Congregationi commiserit enucleandum, eadem sacra Congregatio, re mature perpensa, respondendum censuit: *Generatim loquendo non licere:* et ad mentem. Mens est quod ea res tolerari possit sequentibus conditionibus et adjunctis simul in casu concurrentibus, scilicet:

1. Si *bona fide* primitus sectae nomen dederint antequam sibi innotuisset societatem fuisse damnatam.

2. Si absit scandalum, vel opportuna removeatur declaratione, id a se fieri ne jus ad emolumenta vel beneficium temporis in aere alieno solvendo amittat; a quavis interim sectae communione, et a quovis interventu, etiam materiali, ut praemittitur, abstinendo.

3. Si grave damnum sibi aut familiae in renunciatione obveniat.

4. Tandem ut non adsit vel homini illi vel familiae ejus periculum perversionis ex parte sectariorum, spectato praecipue casu vel infirmitatis vel mortis; neve similiter adsit periculum funeris peragendi a ritibus Catholicis alieni.

Quae cum SSmo D. P. Leoni XIII relata fuerint in totum approbata et confirmata fuerunt. Verum cum de re gravissima atque periculorum et difficultatum plena agatur, quae plurimas non modo dioeceses sed et provincias ecclesiasticas respicit, idem SS.D.N. jussit ut uniformis regulae servandae causa casibus particularibus Eminentia Tua et in Apostolica Delegatione successores providere possint.

Romae die 18 Jan. 1896.

R. CARD. PAROCCHI.

*Emo ac Rmo* P. SATOLLI, *Del. Apostolico.*

## EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION OF THE RUTHENIAN BISHOP FOR THE UNITED STATES.

By Apostolic Letter dated 16 September, 1907, the Right Rev. S. S. Ortynski was appointed Bishop of the Ruthenian Catholics in the United States, receiving his jurisdiction directly from the Holy See, yet with the understanding that its exercise was dependent on the consent of the local Ordinary of the Latin Rite, and that as Ruthenian Bishop he was to render an account of his administration to the Apostolic Delegate as the immediate representative of the Holy See.

By a recent letter of His Eminence Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, the American Bishops are instructed that the exercise of Bishop Ortynski's jurisdiction is no longer dependent on the consent of the Ordinary within whose limits he may administer the affairs of the Ruthenian Church in America, but that hereafter he enjoys full and ordinary jurisdiction as Ruthenian Bishop over the clergy and faithful of that Rite in the United States.

APOSTOLIC DELEGATION,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
WASHINGTON, D. C., 25 AUGUST, 1913.

*Your Lordship:*

His Eminence Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, in a letter dated the 28th of May ult., instructs me to announce to the American Hierarchy that the Holy Father has conferred upon the Rt. Rev. S. S. Ortynski full and ordinary jurisdiction over all the faithful and clergy of the Ruthenian Rite living within the United States.

Upon the receipt, therefore, of this letter all the jurisdiction that you have had over the clergy and laity and over all the affairs of the Ruthenian Rite will cease to exist.

I beg you in this transition to do your best in arranging with Bishop Ortynski all financial questions pending in the Ruthenian parishes, to make sure in accordance with the laws of your State the validity of title to all the property involved; and finally, I beg you to exhort the Ruthenian clergy and people to accept with docility the change brought about by this Decree, and to recognize Bishop Ortynski as their own proper Bishop.

In case there are no Ruthenian Catholics at present in your diocese, this disposition of the Holy See will serve as a guide for you in the future if they should ever come to the diocese.

Kindly acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

With sentiments of profound respect and best wishes I remain,

Sincerely yours in Xt,

✠ JOHN BONZANO,
*Archbishop of Melitene,*
*Apostolic Delegate.*

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## MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS AS DIOCESAN CONSULTORS.

*Qu.* Would you give me some further information as to whether Regulars who, being in parishes and lawfully approved as such, enjoy the same rights as the secular clergy, have likewise the right to vote for diocesan consultors; also whether they may lawfully be chosen to that office?

Sometime ago THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW published an article on the subject by Dr. Meehan, who seems to maintain that Regulars, although lawful pastors, have nothing to do with such elections, and should not hold such offices. I think the contrary practice prevails in many dioceses throughout the United States, where Regulars are established as parish priests. It seems to me I have read in some past number of the REVIEW on which I cannot at this minute put my hand, that the question was submitted to Rome and that the answer was to the effect that religious pastors may hold the office of consultors.

L. S.

*Resp.* The functions of a diocesan consultor are to safeguard by his advice to the Ordinary and by his vote the special interests of the diocesan Church. His fitness for the position rests not merely upon the possession of certain priestly virtues, pastoral prudence, and practical experience, but also upon the fact that he is a permanent part of the diocese, subject directly and immediately to the diocesan bishop, and as such interested in all that concerns the welfare of the diocese. The members of Religious Orders, however efficient and wise they may be, are not permanently attached to the service of any diocese, but are subject to removal by their superiors *ad nutum*. They may therefore be sent out of the diocese at any time, regardless of the requirements of special service as counsellors to the Ordinary or voters in diocesan affairs. In all cases Regulars who happened to be consultors would normally be dependent upon the will of one

who himself might be wholly out of touch with the needs of the diocesan clergy among whom he sends his own subject. Moreover, it can hardly be expected that the special interests of Religious Communities will always allow their members to take account of the local needs of diocesan government, so as to pledge one of their subjects in the same manner as the secular or diocesan clergy are pledged permanently to the service of the same diocese and bishop. This and kindred reasons account for the general legislation to which Dr. Meehan refers.

The disability of religious to act as consultors admits of course of exceptions, either through necessity or by special arrangement. In no case can it be said to be a reflection on the ability of the regular clergy; and, apart from granting the right of voting, the bishop is of course likely to avail himself of the advice of experienced pastors among the regular clergy.

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## MARRIAGE DISPENSATIONS ACCORDING TO THE NEW LEGISLATION.

The rector of a large city parish is requested by a young couple to marry them immediately. They explain that they are from another State, but that they have been living in his city for the last month; also that they are second cousins. Taking their statement to be true, and being desirous to aid them in their apparent predicament, the priest applied to the bishop for a dispensation, and having obtained it, duly witnessed the marriage.

Later on it becomes known that the reasons advanced for the urgency of the marriage were false, as also the statement of the young couple that they had resided in the city for a month previous to the marriage.

Is the marriage valid in the eyes of the Church?

The marriage is *invalid*, for the following reasons:

1. because the dispensation was obtained from a bishop who had no jurisdiction over the parties concerned, inasmuch as neither of them had resided at least one month in his diocese.

2. because even if one or both had been subject through domicile to the bishop's jurisdiction, the fact that the dispensation was obtained on false representation would make the marriage null and void.

### Reasons for Invalidity Explained.

When there is question of a diriment impediment, as in the present case, the dispensation granted is valid only if the reason or reasons advanced for it are true. If there are several reasons alleged, at least one of them, and that one of sufficient importance, must be true.

As regards the nature of the reasons alleged for obtaining a dispensation the following is to be kept in mind:

1. It is not necessary that the reasons be strictly *canonical* reasons, since both the S. Congregations and the Ordinary dispense for what is commonly deemed a good reason under a given set of circumstances.

2. According to a rule laid down by the Constitution *De Romana Curia,* dispensations obtained from the S. Congregations are valid, even if they have been obtained under false pretences, provided they concern impediments of—

(a) consanguinity and affinity in the third or fourth degree of the collateral line, either equal or unequal; that is to say, in the fourth degree mixed with the first; and the fourth or third mixed with the second;

(b) affinity in the first degree and in the second, either simple or mixed with the first, when such impediments arise from unlawful relations;

(c) spiritual relationship of any kind;

(d) public honesty arising either from valid engagement or from a *matrimonium ratum* which has already been dispensed from.

### Useful Observations.

The Bishops of the United States have very extensive faculties for dispensing from impediments of marriage, and so the pastor can safely apply to the episcopal chancery for dispensation in most cases.

If however the dispensation has to be obtained from the Roman Curia, the application must be addressed to the S. Congregation of the Sacraments. Only cases involving dispensations from impediments of mixed religion or of disparity of cult, and of the so-called Pauline Privilege, are reserved to the S. Congregation of the Holy Office.

Dispensations regarding the *forum internum* are granted by the S. Poenitentiaria. Under this head are classed the following impediments:

1. affinity arising from illicit intercourse;
2. the *impedimentum criminis*;

provided these impediments are actually occult.

All former regulations touching the faculty of dispensing, given formerly to other S. Congregations and Offices, have been revoked.[1]

Any Catholic may appeal directly to the S. Congregation in the matter of occult[2] or even of public impediments, although in the latter case the more direct way is to make the application through the episcopal chancery, since the bishop would have to be consulted by Rome in such cases.

In making the application it is necessary to state with conscientious exactness the particular impediment in question; or, if there are several, their number and kind. As it is customary to impose upon the parties who demand a dispensation some sort of penalty in the form of alms, and as it is proper that, if possible, they should bear the curial expenses involved in the adjustment of the dispensation, a statement as to the disposition or ability of the parties applying for dispensation, to undertake the responsibility of these expenses, is to be made in the application. It is however distinctly stated in the "Normae" (Chap. XI, 3) that this demand is in no wise to interfere with the gratuitous granting of dispensations in all cases in which the latter is necessary to prevent sin, even when the parties are able to bear the expenses, yet refuse to accept the responsibility of paying them, or in cases where they are guilty of misrepresentations as to their ability to pay.

Applications for dispensations addressed directly to the S. Congregation by the parties concerned are of course likely to be remitted either for authentication or for execution to the Ordinary or some other ecclesiastic, who is in such cases provided with due faculties to apply the dispensation. Even when the Holy See sends the dispensation directly to the

[1] Const. Apost. *De Romana Curia*, 29 June, 1908 (*Act. Apost. Sedis*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.).

[2] See "Normae Communes" of the above-mentioned Constitution, Chap. X.

parties who have made the application, it becomes incumbent upon the latter to obtain the assent of the Ordinary whenever there is question of some public impediment. This assent is called a "rescriptum in forma gratiosa," and the necessity of obtaining it is usually expressly mentioned in the dispensation itself or in an accompanying instruction. Sometimes this "rescriptum" is issued in what is termed "forma commissoria," which means that the execution of the dispensation is reserved to an officer specially appointed for the purpose.

The usual method of the Roman Curia is to send the dispensation to the Ordinary of the parties who apply for the same, with instructions to verify the alleged facts and conditions upon which the dispensation is granted. If these conditions are found true, the dispensation is granted; if they are found to be false or erroneous, the dispensation is to be withheld, and report of the reasons for the withholding is to be made to the Holy See.[3]

In cases where the impediment arises from sin or guilt, and involves secrecy ("impedimenta occulta"), the rescript is privately sent to the confessor of the party applying for the dispensation.

The fact that the parties requiring dispensation happen to be under ecclesiastical censure does not prevent the dispensation from taking effect, unless it were a question of public excommunication or excommunication by name, in which case the parties are considered as being outside the pale of ecclesiastical privilege.

A bishop can use his faculties of dispensing from impediments of marriage in favor of his own subjects only. Persons become legitimate subjects of the bishop by living in his diocese, that is to say by having therein a permanent residence or by having acquired a canonical domicile after a *bona fide* residence of at least one month. Persons who have no permanent domicile, being "vagantes" or travelers, are subject to the Ordinary in whose diocese they may happen to be at the time the dispensation is called for.

Dispensations from impediments that affect both parties, such as consanguinity or affinity, may be asked for or applied by the Ordinary of either party; the recognized preference

[3] Const. Apost. *De Rom. Curia*, Normae peculiares, Chap. III, 3 and 4.

however devolves upon the bride's Ordinary. It suffices to have the dispensation of the bishop of one of the parties.

In cases where the impediment is either of mixed religion or of disparity of cult, the dispensation must always be obtained from the bishop of the Catholic party.

The Ordinary, in granting dispensations, is bound to follow the rules of the Roman Curia in virtue of which he obtains his faculties. Dispensations granted by means of telephone or telegraph are illicit, although not necessarily invalid, since they may be called for by urgent conditions.

Dispensations granted for insufficient reasons, or without any reason, are invalid, although the supreme lawgiver may in particular cases expressly dispense from the ordinary reasons as well as from the law itself.

The bishop, like the S. Congregations, may dispense for any good reason, even though it does not come under the head of so-called canonical reasons.

FR. STANISLAUS, O.F.M.

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## VALIDITY OF CIVIL MARRIAGE FOR CATHOLICS.

(*Communicated.*)

In the spring of 1906, Anna, a Catholic girl, well informed in the doctrine of the Church, and practical in the observance of its laws, was married to John, by a Justice of the Peace. John had been baptized a Catholic, but was brought up a Methodist. For urgent reasons Anna left her native town to be married. John faithfully promised her they would be married by a priest on their return home. Neither in their home nor in the place of their marriage was the Tridentine law in force. However they never returned home, nor were they ever married by a priest. Two years after that, Anna was divorced by John. She went to her original home and there became engaged to Henry, a practical Catholic.

Her marriage to John troubled her. She consulted a priest, telling him the whole story. She assured him under oath that she never considered civil marriage anything but a formality of law, necessary for legal results. "I knew," she added, "the civil marriage could be divorced. I had been taught and firmly believed that it is no marriage before God and the Church."—"Why then did you continue to live with him?" asked the priest.—"Because," she replied, "I thought that would be pardoned me if only we were married later on by a priest."

The priest decided her civil marriage invalid, and that she was free to marry Henry. It was not necessary, he assured her, to adduce the witnesses whom she volunteered to bring in favor of her assertion.

Without pausing to correct the priest, who should have referred the matter to his Ordinary for settlement in the diocesan matrimonial court, as Canon Law and the Third Council of Baltimore prescribe,[1] it may be admitted as unquestionable that the priest's decision would have been affirmed, if he had heard reliable witnesses, as required by Canon Law. The case however merits some discussion, for the question principally involved is whether civil-law marriages are valid.

Readers who are desirous of extended argument on this matter may consult the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Num. 10, of 1912, Vol. IV, Annus IV, pp. 377-92), where the Rota decides a similar case. The decision there affords a solid basis for our case.

First, then, it must be remembered that since the *Ne temere* law, which went into force at Easter, 1908, no marriage is valid unless it is contracted "coram Ordinario loci vel parocho et saltem duobus testibus." Where the *Provida* obtains, clandestine mixed marriages are valid. But as the *Provida* indult has never been extended to this country, the *Ne temere* has undisputed sway.

Secondly, the case given above occurred before the *Ne temere* came into force, and, in a locality in which the decree of Trent, invalidating clandestine marriages, had not been published. It must therefore be adjudicated according to the general canon law.

It may for that reason seem idle to discuss it in the REVIEW. However, besides its historical and academic value, it has practical bearings. It especially commends the wisdom of the new law of the *Ne temere*. The bulk of commentary on the Tridentine law had grown with time and changing social conditions. The adjective "proprio" crept ever closer to "parocho" of the Tridentine decree, and finally was held to be original. Cases of disputed marriages increased. The meaning of *domicilium* and *quasi-domicilium* became so in-

[1] Appendix of Council, p. 262, § 1.

volved by the establishment of new parishes and changing abodes of the people, that ways to decide them ended in a very labyrinth of difficulties. Others besides the officials of matrimonial courts are thankful for the new law.

1. The case under consideration touches the very nature of marriage, and the first question before us is: What is the nature of civil-law marriage as compared with the nature of Christian marriage?

Marriage is in origin, nature, and purpose, a contract indeed according to civil law, but not a sacrament. By Christian law, however, it becomes a sacrament. Christian marriage is a unit of contract and sacrament,—indivisible. The sacrament is of course effected by the consent of those marrying and not by the law. Hence where there is no form of marriage prescribed under pain of nullity, parties to a marriage enter it sacramentally if they only intend true marriage, as shall be shown below.

Again, Christian marriage is indissoluble. In truth, its indissolubility results from the very nature of marriage; it is not a concomitant quality. That is why marriage is dissolved only by death. Civil law, however, not only grants complete divorce, but supposes marriage divorceable. The reasons for granting divorce are not everywhere the same, but the supposition and practice of divorce are common in civil law. Some legislators and judges concede that it were better for the commonwealth if marriage were indissoluble. And the concession reveals the mind of the law, that marriage is radically dissoluble. Polygamous marriage is abhorred by civil law, which therein accords with Christian law. "Marriage is the civil status of one man and woman, legally united for life," says Bishop; and municipal law deals with this status only as a civil institution. Justice Story speaks of it as "an institution of society founded upon the consent and contract of the parties."[2] This certainly justifies the conclusion that in civil law marriage is neither a sacrament nor indissoluble. *Objectively* at least, we may conclude, civil law does not imply indissolubility to be an inherent quality of marriage, while *subjectively*, that is in the intention of those contracting civil-law marriage, it may be both sacred and

[2] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, Art. Civil Marriage, p. 691.

indissoluble. Hence it is possible that, objectively, civil law marriage is invalid, but subjectively valid, because the parties intend true marriage. "Si enim contrahentes (aut alteruter eorum) matrimonium ecclesiasticum a civili distingui norunt, atque in civili matrimonio *merum civilem actum* exercere intendunt—quod non possunt non intendere, si ipsis licet falso *persuasum est* se verum matrimonium inire non posse—matrimonium validum non contrahunt. Si autem solum dubitantes vel etiam putantes, se non posse contrahere, volunt tamen ambo, *quantum* possunt verum matrimonium inire, matrimonium valet."[3]

2. Civil law marriage is forbidden to Catholics. It is a grievous sin for them even to attempt such a marriage. In some countries indeed they are permitted to submit to civil law marriage, in order to secure its civil effects; but this is by no means an approval of the validity of civil law marriage on the part of the Church.

According to the teaching of the Holy See and of canonists civil law marriage is invalid as well as sinful. Benedict XIV declared: "Matrimonium mere civile inter Christianos esse nullum et irritum, sive ratione sacramenti sive ratione contractus." Pius IX in a letter to Victor Emmanuel, 25 July, 1852 and Leo XIII in the Encyclicals *Inscrutabili* (21 April, 1878) and *Arcanum divinae* (10 February, 1880) are unusually emphatic: "Similiter omnibus exploratum esse debet, si qua conjunctio viri et mulieris inter Christifideles extra sacramentum contrahatur, eam vi ac ratione justi matrimonii carere."[4] Among propositions condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX we find: "Vi contractus mere civilis potest inter Christianos constare veri nominis matrimonii." This leaves no doubt as to the mind of the Church with regard to civil law marriage.[5]

3. It is very important then to know whether civil law in this country has in mind only a legal formality, necessary to secure the legal effects of marriage, or whether it actually provides marriage sound and thorough in nature and substance.

[3] Lehmkuhl, Vol. II, p. 437, num. 3.

[4] *Acta Apost. Sedis*, l. c., p. 381.

[5] See De Becker, *De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio*, pp. 127-132; and III Council of Baltimore, Cap. II. De Matrimonio, Num. 125.

According to accredited commentators on the civil law, marriage is entirely a civil institution in the mind of the law. Its consequences are those of a bilateral contract. The bride and groom bind themselves according to law; and in the sight of the law marriage is dissoluble. "Dissolubilitas igitur est elementum matrimonii civilis et qualitas eidem juridice inhaerens," the Rota concludes.[6]

Now, in this country citizens are not compelled by law to enter the contract according to the civil form. They must take out a license and can be married by any authorized minister who unites them both legally and religiously. This would seem to give the sense of our law a wider scope. It manifests indeed a spirit of tolerance and of acknowledgment akin to religious sentiment. Civil law marriage itself must however be judged by the character the law gives to it. The view which the different creeds take of marriage does not enter into the mind of the civil law. Marriage, according to the teaching of the Socialists, marriages of affinity, trial marriages even in some localities, are likewise tolerated. Civil law, though it prescribes a legal form of requiring consent in marriage, takes no cognizance of the intention which the parties, when marrying, may have. It supposes that marriage is a dissoluble union. "E contra, matrimonium civile est *objective dissolubile*, ergo, qua tale in se invalidum."[7] The intention, the conscience of parties marrying according to civil form by a Justice of the Peace may thus make their marriage before God and the Church valid, unless of course the Church prescribes a form for valid marriage, as she actually does by the law *Ne temere*. Since the view Protestants take of civil law marriage does not concern us, I refer the reader to the *Acta Ap. Sedis* (p. 388) for quotations from noted German Protestant theologians. How far American authorities agree with their German confrères in this matter does not concern us here. They commonly teach that marriage is dissoluble even on Scriptural ground (Matth. 19: 9), it may be safely said. Their error does not however invalidate their civil law marriage, for the Rota, quoting Benedict XIV, says: "Subjectivus error objectivae veritati ac realitati non ob-

[6] *Acta Ap. Sed.*, l. c., p. 381.
[7] *Acta Ap. Sed.*, l. c., p. 381.

trectat."[8] It is presumed that they intend "verum matrimonium."

4. Can Catholics in this country consider a civil marriage valid? Catholics are forbidden, wherever they are compelled by law to contract civil marriage, to have the intention of contracting a valid marriage; their intention should be only to secure the legal effects of marriage. "Nam intentio maritalis, seu intentio contrahendi per actum civilem matrimonium verum, in locis tridentinis involveret matrimonium attentatum i. e. abusum sacramenti, et in locis non-tridentinis matrimonium quidem revera contraheretur, sed sacramentum susciperetur contra claram et severam prohibitionem Ecclesiae; ita ut in utroque casu committeretur sacrilegium."[9] It should be borne in mind that in the last case the marriage would be valid "propter intentionem contrahentium." Not because of the sacrilege alone is it forbidden, but principally because civil marriage is invalid. "Certum pariter est peccare omnes," says Cardinal Gennari,[10] "habentes matrimonium civile, quatenus tale, uti verum matrimonium." Hence, Catholics who have been married in places where the *Tametsi* was not in force, but who intended civil marriage only ("conjunctionem maritalem solubilem, ideoque per se nullam"; l. c. p. 384), are not married before God and the Church; if they intended true marriage, they sinned, but are validly married. This is clear from the clause attached to the "sanatio in radice" of such marriages: "dummodo constet de perseverantia consensus." This postulates the genuine intention of contracting true marriage.[11]

What then becomes of the canonical ruling: "In dubio praesumptionem stare semper pro validitate matrimonii?"

Is the *intention* of Catholics when contracting marriage civilly always presumed to be a rightful one? or, is civil law marriage always presumed to be valid? Certainly not the latter, as we saw above. The presumption is rather against civil law marriage. Have we sufficient evidence then that Catholics always intend true marriage, valid before God and

[8] De synod. dioc. I, XIII, c. 22, n. 7.
[9] *Acta Ap. Sed.*, l. c., pp. 385-6.
[10] *De Matrimonio*, II, n. 1222.
[11] De Becker, l. c., p. 130.

His Church, when contracting marriage before a civil magistrate? Assuredly they know that marriage is a sacrament and indissoluble, and that it is neither in the eyes of the civil law. A rightful intention is therefore incompatible with such knowledge, and their civil law marriage is null and void If however their mind is not clear on the subject, either for want of instruction, or because of indifference in religious matters, even if they have an aversion to the Church and despise the Catholic creed, their intention is justly presumed to be rightful and their civil law marriage valid. The Rota establishes this criterion: "Quare pro Germaniae Catholicis ut regula in praxi statui potest: *In genere* praesumptio stat *pro invaliditate* matrimonii civilis, si contrahitur a veris Catholicis, qui officia religionis implent; praesumptio e contra stat *pro validitate* matrimonii civilis, si initur a Catholicis indifferentibus vel Ecclesiae ac vitae religionis alienis, qui celebrationem matrimonii in facie Ecclesiae explicite negligunt." [12]

Believing that our Catholic people understand the emptiness of a civil law marriage, I yet contend that general presumption favors the validity of a civil law marriage in non-Tridentine places, for the following reasons. It is the common belief that clandestine marriages, although illicit, are valid wherever the *Tametsi* is not in force. Our diocesan matrimonial courts, presuming such belief, decide in favor of its validity. That belief might have entirely originated from instruction given to our people and seminarians. Civil law marriage was everywhere taught to be very sinful, but valid, if only there was no prohibition by the Church against its validity. Since the *Ne temere*, of course, there is such a nullifying prohibition. There is no longer an advantage of a valid marriage, even for a mixed marriage in this country, when contracted outside of the Church—"nisi coram facie Ecclesiae."

In conclusion, it should be said that the decision of the priest was in our case substantially correct. The girl was well informed. Her conscience was settled. She had no doubt. She sinned and lived in the sin of concubinage. Neither could her civil marriage have been healed in its root,

[12] *Acta Ap. Sed.*, l. c., p. 387; De Becker, l. c., p. 129.

since her consent was radically deficient and never adjusted. The decision should however have come by the regular juridical procedure. The case was public.

About the consent of her non-Catholic partner the same decision could not be given. Presumption favors the validity of the civil law marriages of non-Catholics, as stated above. However, as marriage is a unit, its validity fails if one of the parties fails in consent. "Neque dici potest," for the same reason, "matrimonium convalidatum fuisse maritali affectu per habitam copulam."

JOS. SELINGER.

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## THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. JOHN'S CRITICISM OF EPISCOPAL ARMS.

(A Reply.)

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The communication of the Archbishop of St. John's in the September REVIEW obviously calls for a word of explanation from me of the arms of the three Bishops to which he objects. In a footnote to an earlier letter (July, 1910) His Grace refers to *The Art of Heraldry* by A. C. Fox-Davies (London, 1904), as "the latest, most exhaustive and undoubtedly very best book published on Heraldry". I cannot at all agree with His Grace in his encomium, but I am willing for the moment to invoke Mr. Fox-Davies's "authority" as one so wholly satisfactory to my critic.

To the shield of the Bishop of Lead His Grace makes several objections. "(a) The pile is treated as a charge on the shield, whereas it is not a charge but an ordinary; that is to say, a division of the shield on which a charge may be placed."

Mr. Fox-Davies, in his *Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909, p. 107), speaking of "charges" and "ordinaries" says: "Each can be charged, and each furnishes an excellent example of the futility of some of the ancient rules which have been coined concerning them. . . . To my mind the ordinaries and subordinaries are no more than first charges, and though the bend, the fess, the pale, the pile, the chevron, the cross, and the saltire will always be found described as honorable ordinaries, whilst the chief seems also

to be pretty universally considered as one of the honorable ordinaries, such hopeless confusion remains as to the others (scarcely any two writers giving similar classification), that the utter absurdity of the necessity for any classification at all is amply demonstrated."

Proceeding, the Archbishop writes: "(b) A pile issues from the chief and points downward." [The absolute nature of this statement must be carefully noted.] "In the present case the three (I do not know what to call them)—let us say charges, which are intended to represent piles, issue from the base and point upward."

Mr. Fox-Davies writes:[1] "A *single pile* cannot issue in base *if* it be unaccompanied by other piles, as the field would then be blazoned per chevron." That Mr. Fox-Davies is wrong here is beside the point: his statement, while incorrectly denying the privilege of a single pile to issue from base, correctly admits the possibility of more than one so issuing. But now remembering the Archbishop's more absolute statement, let us follow Mr. Fox-Davies further:[2] "The arms of Henderson show three piles issuing from the sinister side of the escutcheon. A disposition of three piles which will very frequently be found in modern British heraldry is two issuing in chief and one in base."

Let us consider for a moment a more learned and more widely accepted work than even Mr. Fox-Davies's, *A Glossary of Heraldry* by J. H. Parker, 1847, reprinted much expanded in 1894. I quote from the later edition (pp. 457-8): "Piles are to be drawn in a perpendicular position, with the points downwards, reaching to, or nearly to, the *base point*, unless otherwise directed; but they are to be found *in bend* and *in fesse*, and it is not uncommon to designate some point in the edge of the shield from which they should start. . . If the pile is simply reversed, i. e. with the point upwards, it is blazoned as *transposed*." Later he himself blazons: "Azure, a pile issuing from the base in bend sinister or—Kagg."

It will be seen from the foregoing that in English heraldry the practice is to regard this pointed figure, alone, in pairs, or in threes, as susceptible of a pretty free disposition on the

[1] Ib., p. 125, the italics are mine.
[2] Ib., p. 126.

shield. *Only* when the blazon is unaccompanied by a qualifying description of position does the pile start from the top of the shield, descending perpendicularly. The French practice is just the reverse of this, so completely so that the French heralds will usually call the unqualified pile from chief a "*pointe renversée*". Cf. Parker, p. 469: "The French *pointe* frequently signifies a figure rising up to the chief point, like a *pile* reversed." Consider the arms of Saint Blaise de Brugny: "*D'azur à la pointe d'argent.*" Here precisely is the single pile from base which Mr. Fox-Davies says may not exist. But let us take an older and more classic authority, *La Vraye et Parfaite Science des Armoiries . . . de feu Maistre Louvan Geliot* by Pierre Palliot, Paris, 1664 (a superb folio), p. 542: "Pile, c'est une pointe renversée." P. 545: "Pointe, piece de blason, montante du bas en hault de l'Escu, et plus estroite en sa largeur que le Chappé, occupant seulment les deux tiers de la pointe de l'Escu. . . Bredel au Tyrol porte d'argent à trois Pointes d'azur, à la Champagne de gueules." An older authority still, John Bossewell, in his *Workes of Armorie*, 1572, fol. 100 (b) gives as illustration a shield on which a single pile issues from the base (peace to Mr. Fox-Davies!), and blazons it "a pile in poyncte."

The Archbishop continues: "(c) Whatever likeness they may be supposed to have to piles, is entirely destroyed by the strange device of placing a trefoil on the point of them."

Again turn to Mr. Fox-Davies:[3] "Piles terminating in fleurs-de-lis or crosses patée are to be met with, and reference may be made to the arms of Poynter and Dickson-Poynder. Each of these coats has the field pily counter-pily, the points ending in crosses formée." (If fleurs-de-lis and crosses, why not trefoils?)

Now as a matter of fact, to give a list of authentic arms with their blasons which contravene the absolute rule enunciated by His Grace would well nigh exhaust the space of a whole number of the REVIEW. I may be permitted, however, merely to name a few. First those with single piles reversed: Boutren de Franqueville, Faudran, Sainte Blaise de Brugny, Hermannsdorf, Tesauro; with two piles reversed: van Omphal, Rehligen, Schönfeld zu Wachau, Frauentraut.

[3] Op. cit., p. 126.

Heyerling zu Winkl, Ebner-Eschenbach; with three reversed: Biug, Fumel, Froben, Rindtfleisch, Sparenborg, Giron, Remilly, Tellez-Giron, Eggl, Seybolt, Sieghofer de Segenberg, Schirnhofer d'Ehrenhof, Pflugk.

Now as to the "strange device" on the points of the Lead piles. Mr. Fox-Davies has already mentioned piles terminating in fleurs-de-lis and crosses pattées or formées. Let me refer to a few others from my own larger collection: the arms of Germanstorf, where the pile terminates in a Latin cross; of Hermannsdorf, terminating in a linden leaf; of Sefftingen, terminating in a "fleur à 6 feuilles"; of Rembow-Sabinski, stars; of Kunrath, terminating in a "fleur-de-lis renversée". Finally I would adduce as precedents for my own "strange device" the noble Swiss family of Moss and the extinct Bavarian house of Feurer von Pfetrach, both of whose piles terminate in—trefoils! I must therefore be acquitted on this point of anything approaching heraldic innovation. How "strange" an accepted, traditional heraldic device may appear to the amateur depends wholly on the range of his study.

"(d) We are told that 'The trefoil honors St. Patrick', but the trefoil of St. Patrick (shamrock) is in the form of three hearts, while the trefoils on this arms [sic] are in the form of spades (cards), which do not at all represent the shamrock."

Mr. Fox-Davies[4] illustrates the trefoil with a drawing practically indistinguishable from my own, as the traditionally accepted type, but says: "Of late a tendency has been noticeable in paintings from Ulster's Office to represent the trefoil in a way more nearly approaching the Irish shamrock, from which it has undoubtedly been derived." My own concern is not so much to follow the recent innovations of Ulster's Office as to follow the best medieval traditions. In the notable collection of works on Heraldry,—manuals, facsimiles of rolls of arms, seals, etc., in the Harvard Library, with the formation of which I have been concerned and consulted for nearly twenty years, I can find no example other than the most recent, of the form of trefoil which His Grace advocates, whereas His Grace's own authority, Mr. Fox-Davies, accepts as I do the form to which he objects. In my own

[4] Op. cit., p. 267.

collection of armorial book-plates is that of "✠ George Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh"; here the four trefoils which canton the cross of the Ardagh arms have precisely the same shaped leaf as have those of Lead.

His Grace's objection to the Cheyenne arms hinges on a question of taste about which dispute is classically impossible. My long experience as a designer leads me to prefer in a strictly counterchanged shield a uniformity rather than a diversity of charges as more in accordance with the best medieval examples.

"3. In the arms of Richmond. The stag should be countercharged as well as the trefoils." "Countercharged", in this connexion, means nothing and is possibly a misprint for "counterchanged".[5] The arms of the sinister impalement of the Bishop of Richmond are simply his inherited insignia, O'Connell quartering Wray. What particular version of the O'Connell arms His Lordship should use depends wholly upon his own wishes. In my own copy of Burke's *General Armory* (ed. 1842) there are two different versions of the O'Connell arms, and I daresay that in the MSS. of Ulster's Office there are undoubtedly by this time several more. What the original O'Connell arms were I do not know, but I am of opinion that they were precisely as His Grace observes. But it is a commonplace of heraldry that the plain unaltered coat of a family belongs of right only to the Chief of the House and then his direct senior male line. Cadet branches are expected, and in many countries are required to "difference" these arms. Differentiation by change of tincture is a practice very nearly as old as heraldry itself; and to alter a "counterchanged" stag into a "proper" one is merely an example of this. Why it was first done I don't know, but His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, has always born his stag "proper", in this following the example of Sir Ross O'Connell, a print of whose very charming heraldic book-plate is in His Eminence's collection. If the Bishop of Richmond was content to follow the example of His Eminence, he was quite within his rights. If, on the other hand, he had wished to use the unaltered arms of the head of the O'Connells, here

[5] The Archbishop of St. John's MS. has "counterchanged".—EDITOR.

again he would have had precedent, as Clement VII used the full arms of the Medici family.

In speaking of the sinister impalement of the arms of the Bishop of Matanzas, His Grace says: "There are too many quarterings and sub-quarterings, which give it the appearance of an overcharged family coat, differentiating the branches and cadences of a family. It is altogether out of place and meaningless in an ecclesiastical coat and results in a veritable hotchpotch."

This criticism is based upon a misunderstanding of the laws of "marshalling" arms. The arms under discussion are a perfectly proper combination by impalement of two wholly distinct coats; at dexter, the extremely simple and effective coat of the See of Matanzas, designed by the Rev. J. A. Nainfa, S.S.; at sinister, the inherited, family coat of Bishop Currier. That the Bishop inherited a very complicated coat may be his misfortune, but not his fault surely, just as it is not Father Nainfa's fault, who had but to accept the Bishop's family shield as it came to him. This family shield, personal to the Bishop irrespective of his See, is itself a combination of two coats, that of the Currier family and that of the Heyliger family. The Currier arms are simple. The Heyliger arms are themselves quartered. These latter are a singular combination of saintly ("heilige") objects, and the arms reflect the taste of a somewhat late and florid period of heraldry. But such as they are they were used by the family of the Bishop's mother from whom he inherits, and the Bishop supplied Father Nainfa and myself with photographic copies of a charmingly quaint eighteenth-century painting of the arms in his possession. To combine by quartering a simple coat with an already quartered coat is not unusual,[6] and the combination is strictly in accordance with the laws of marshalling, Father Nainfa being a thoroughly accomplished herald. The result of this logical working out of heraldic laws, however interesting, was not esthetically pleasing to either of us, but both the Bishop's wishes and his heraldic inheritance had to be considered, and certainly neither of us had the temerity to suggest that this inheritance was "a veritable hotchpotch".

PIERRE DE CHAIGNON LA ROSE.

*Cambridge, Mass.*

[6] Cf. the royal arms of the Stuarts.

## THE ENGLISH TE DEUM.

It may be of interest to note here some additional information about the Te Deum in English verse, furnished by readers of the articles in the August and September issues of the REVIEW.

1. The writer of the articles had quoted some lines from "a very interesting and vigorous translation of the Te Deum in the form of an irregular, rhymed ode" found in the *Lyra Catholica* (New York, 1851), to which no author's name was signed, although many other poems gave the names of their authors; and had hazarded the conjecture that the ode in question was from the pen of James Clarence Mangan, because "its style of phrase appears to us quite pure Manganese."

Apropos of this conjecture, the Rev. W. Hickey writes from Leeds, England: "The version of the Te Deum you quote in your footnote at page 148 of the August number of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW *is* by James Clarence Mangan. I find it in my copy of Duffy's *Catholic Magazine*, February, 1847, over the signature of 'J. C. M.'"

The ode is not found in the editions of Mangan's poems compiled and edited by John Mitchel and Miss Guiney. The present writer does not possess the editions edited by Father Meehan and Mr. O'Donoghue, and would be pleased to learn if some reader who may have access to one or other of them could locate the ode there.

2. Father Ludwig Bonvin, S.J., has kindly communicated to us some highly interesting views of his concerning various points touched in the article on the tune of the "Holy God, we praise Thy name." He remarks, *inter alia*: "You are perfectly right in your footnote, page 293 . . . The reason why, in *Sursum Corda* and *Hosanna*, I have assigned two tunes [see September issue, page 301] to the 'Holy God, we praise Thy name' is a twofold one: (a) in Europe there are some critics who (wrongly, however, in my opinion) condemn the traditional tune because it is in ¾ and, as they pretend, waltz-like (!); (b) because I like the second tune (Brosig's), which those who do not like the first one may sing if they please. As to your last remark (page 308), the fact that our separated brethren employ so largely the form

of Leipzig, 1819, . . . could not prevail upon me to abandon this *much nobler* melodic version (VIII). Besides, if I am not entirely mistaken, this version (VIII) is the one most largely employed by Catholics in Germany, and here by German Catholics (VIII and, unfortunately, IX; the latter has two tasteless 'Schnörkel' [the eighth notes mi-sol and fa-la] in the second line: in VIII, also, the half-note in measure 7 is an improvement on the corresponding measure in IX, as it interrupts agreeably the too frequent repetition of quarter-notes found in IX, and measures 9 and 11 of VIII are better than the same measures in IX)."

3. Since the articles were put into print, five other hymnals than those mentioned in the various lists there given, have come under our notice. Herder (St. Louis) has sent a copy of the *Hosanna*, edited by Father Bonvin (3rd revised edition, 1912). Its melodic contents are those of *Sursum Corda* already noticed in the articles. A more fully revised edition of *Hosanna* will appear before long, perhaps within six months or a year.

The new hymnal, *The Oregon Catholic Hymnal*, edited by Frederick W. Goodrich (Portland, Oregon, and New York, 1912), will be reviewed in the November issue. It gives three stanzas of our hymn, and has one error ("singing" for "raising" in the second stanza).

*Laudis Corona* (New York, 1885) gives (p. 214) three stanzas (1st, 2nd, 7th) with correct text. The melody is Form IX.

The *Catholic Hymnal* (Philadelphia, 1905) uses (p. 59) Form VIII, with repeats, and has holds indicated at the end of each line. The words are those of No. 15 (*Cantate;* see August number, p. 139), with "lyre" and "choir" as dissyllables in the second stanza.

*The Catholic Tune Book*, edited by John Storer (London, 1892), does not include either the text or the tune.

4. The Rev. Charles Kotlarz, Wagner's Point, Md., has been so good as to send us a copy of an excellent Polish hymnal (*Spiewnik Koscielny*, etc.) compiled by Mgr. Josef Surzynski, of Kosten (Posen, Germany). Unlike the two Polish hymn books mentioned in the articles, it does not give, within its ample limits of 430 pages, a version of the "Grosser

Gott, wir loben Dich", nor does it use the tune. It is not necessary, however, to consider this omission by the editor (who is, writes Father Kotlarz, "the Polish Palestrina of to-day") as a verdict against either text or tune. It is more probable that the editor preferred to confine his inclusions to Polish melodies and to plainsong settings.

H. T. HENRY.

*Overbrook Seminary, Pa.*

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## CEPHAS—PETER.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The objections made by Father Sheahan in the August issue of the REVIEW,[1] to my presentation of the Cephas—Peter controversy in the May number of *The Catholic University Bulletin*,[2] may be classified as of minor and major importance.

### MINOR OBJECTIONS.

1. "When we consider the *significance* of a word, it is not a proper name but a common noun."

R. Do you not mean *signification* rather than *significance?* The proper *name* "Cephas", when conferred by our Lord, had a "rare significance" over and above its signification.

2. St. Peter was not "exonerated" when distinguished from Cephas.

R. Not even from the blame and censure due to Cephas?

3. Cephas, James and John were not "pillars *of the Church*".

R. Of what, then, were they "pillars"? St. Paul calls them by this title, στῦλοι.

4. If a father called his son Cephas, wouldn't the boy *accept* the name?

R. An *ethical* consideration like this would not alter the *philological* fact assailed, viz., that in current usage Cephas was "*not accepted as a proper name* until our Lord introduced it".

5. Hardouin does not mention Chrysostom or Gregory at all.

[1] Pp. 232-7.

[2] Pp. 355-63, to which the reader is directed for all references made or implied in these lines.

R. It was Vallarsi to whom I directly ascribed the mention, not to Hardouin.

6. Hardouin does not speak of the Council of Trent.

R. Vigouroux, secretary of the Biblical Commission, says he *did*—" disait-il ". Dom Calmet, a contemporary of the Jesuit savant, says the same: " Quam quidem lectionem Ecclesia rejecit, cum *in Tridentino Concilio* probaverit Vulgatam ", etc. Since the works of Hardouin are not accessible to me, I regret my inability to verify the assertions of these usually reliable authorities.

MAJOR OBJECTIONS.

1. The Chronicon Paschale which transmitted the Dorothean catalogue to posterity, was " a famous work ".

R. That does make the catalogue it contains less " spurious ". Du Cange, who edited the document for Migne, styles the latter the work of " idle Greeks ".

2. Why does Dorotheus, or the unknown hand, get the credit of inserting Cephas into a catalogue of the Seventy, when Clement read or heard of it centuries before?

R. Dorotheus gets no credit. He never existed. The unknown hand gets credit, for he produced the catalogue. Clement never dreamed of the catalogue, living, as he did, five centuries before it appeared. A century and a half after his time Eusebius affirmed that *no catalogue* of the disciples was to be found. Is it any wonder that the Dorothean catalogue, unheard-of until the seventh century, should be regarded as " spurious "?

3. Father Sheahan entitles his nineteen objections " Marcion's opinion: Cephas and Peter are one ". Reason: " The heretic Marcion was the first to say that Cephas was St. Peter."

R. The unbroken chain of Fathers, Saints, and Doctors, whom the reader will find linked together in my article, far from suspecting they were under the leadership of Marcion, thought rather with St. Gregory the Great that *the text itself* of Galatians was its own best explanation. St. Gregory writes: " Sunt vero *nonnulli* qui non Petrum apostolorum principem, sed quemdam alium eo nomine qui a Paulo sit reprehensus accipiunt. Qui *si* Pauli *studiosius* verba legissent, ista non dicerent ".[3]

[3] Hom. in Ezech. ii., hom. vi., 10 (MPL. lxxvi, 1003).

In our own day, nearly every text-book of apologetics, and every reliable work of introduction to the New Testament placed in the hands of seminarists, Bible dictionaries, lives of the saints, and of St. Peter in particular, church histories, theologies, commentaries, and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (art. St. Peter) either openly defend this opinion, or represent it as traditional, or take it for granted. Vigouroux (*D. B.*, s. v.) hesitates not to say that Clement's view cannot be sustained on historical grounds. And yet

4. Father Sheahan describes for us two historic personages, Cephas and Peter, each the "very opposite" of the other. The attempt looks like an immature and misplaced bit of higher criticism. It seems but proper thus to designate an abusive process by which texts are first artificially grouped together because of a similarity of word-sounds, expressions or ideas, and then, being separated from others *not just like them*, are taken as distinct sources of distinct historical phenomena, it mattering little whether these last be traditions, places, persons or events.

5. Nor are the Greek menologies in any way helpful in authenticating a Cephas-double. Liturgy directly represents tradition, but the historicity of this or that particular local tradition is in dozens of cases a distinct problem in itself that must be solved independently of liturgy. It is curious that the Cephas defended by Father Sheahan has nothing to recommend him as a saint.

6. Just why the adherents of Clement and his far-away disciples — who, with the exception of the Reformation outburst, gave scarcely any audible signs of life until after the definition of papal infallibility—should hold that Cephas became Simon's proper name, not in its Aramaic, but its Greek form, "Petros," cannot be easily understood unless by the fact that all extant copies of the Gospels and Epistles are in Greek and were intended for Greek-speaking peoples. But St. Matthew's original was in Aramaic, and was prepared for those among whom St. Peter first exercised his apostleship and papal sovereignty. Are the defendants so sure that in *that* gospel and among *those* people, "Petros" was the form used? Even though this point be set aside, was not Aramaic the native tongue of Christ and His Apostles?

Add to this that in Gal. 1 : 18, where there is manifestly question of the Prince of the Apostles, Πέτρον of the *textus receptus* has been supplanted by Κηφᾶν in recent critical editions (Lachmann, Tischendorf, etc.). This change makes the traditional view of Gal. 2 : 11 *extrinsically* more probable, and the contention of Vincenzi and his followers proportionately more untenable.

7. Although one choose designedly to waive the bearing of this and other textual emendations, the full import of the discussion at Antioch is obscured if Cephas were only a disciple, and inferior to St. Paul. What courage was in that case required for St. Paul's resistance to him? What was there to boast of? What deed calling for heroic imitation? How could Barnabas, the head of the flock, have been drawn by him into "dissimulation" in Paul's very presence? How could an inferior "*compel* the gentiles to live as do the Jews"? Why should the Galatians be urged to resist even "an angel from heaven" on the plea that Paul had resisted a subject, and the latter had obeyed?

Truly, an analysis of words and texts that does not lead to synthesis in life and objects falls short, and is destructive.

THOMAS À KEMPIS REILLY, O.P.
*Immaculate Conception College, Washington, D. C.*

# Criticisms and Notes.

**THE NEW TESTAMENT. Vol. III. St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches. Part I. THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS. By the Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London, Bombay, Calcutta. 1913. Pp. xxi and 21.**

Dr. Lingard, the English historian, published in 1836 a new version of the Four Gospels which was reprinted twice (1846 and 1851, London). It was meant to be a critical version and to correct some of the popular readings of the Vulgate; hence he made his translation directly from the old Greek text. But at the time the valuable critical editions of Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Lachmann, and others, had not yet made their appearance, although Tischendorf's work was available in its first impression. Some fifteen years ago an American scholar, Father Francis A. Spencer, O.P., undertook a new translation of the Four Gospels from the Greek with due reference to the Peshitto and to the labors of the English and American revisers of the King James Bible. The result was an excellent translation, which might have replaced at once the older version if it had not been for the feeling that it was departing from the Vulgate text which the Council of Trent had authorized as a typical edition for public service. Moreover there is a certain natural prejudice that clings to old familiar forms; although Father Spencer had kept closely enough to the Vulgate where the critical text permitted it. A similar prejudice prevented Kenrick's version, which adhered to the Vulgate, from becoming popular. Father Spencer died before he could see through the press the remainder of his translation of the New Testament. He deserves the credit of having paved the way to a recognition of the practical value of Biblical criticism, and to the movement which calls for a revision of our English translation on the ground that the old forms are not only defective but often unintelligible to the modern English reader. For words in the course of time lose their original meaning, and new words are coined to express more accurately the sense of the ancient idiom, since the latter no longer calls forth images and thoughts that correspond to actual phenomena. Of course there is danger of modernizing expression to such an extent as to sacrifice the dignity inherent in old forms. Modernity is close to familiarity which begets the sense of triviality, and the translator of ancient documents and most of all of the sacred writings must take account of this element. One feels the contrast when reading "The XX-Century New Testament" (Fleming H.

Revell Co.), or Dr. Hayman's translation of the Epistles into "current and popular idiom". It has always been so; even before Godfried Sigismund Jaspis (Lipsiae, 1797) attempted to put the Epistles of St. Paul into Ciceronian Latin.

Fathers Lattey and Keating have adopted the middle course of giving an accurate translation from the original Greek, while preserving the archaic phraseology where it has not become wholly obsolete.

The first instalment of the new version contains the two short Epistles to the Thessalonians. Salonica has special interest for the modern student, in view of the recent troubles in Macedonia, and Fr. Lattey in his introductory remarks gives us an interesting glimpse of the ancient spirit of that community. It was here, in all probability, that St. Paul, accompanied by Silas and young Timothy, began his literary activity as a writer of pastorals. The two letters, despatched within a few weeks of each other, present the peculiar polemical difficulties which the Apostle of the Gentiles had to meet from the Greek converts, and in another sense from his own countrymen who were bent on stirring up strife against the Christian missionaries. The introduction to the Epistles gives us a succinct and intelligible account of the early history and genius of the people of Thessalonica, of the establishment of the first Christian community organized as a church, and of the character of its government. There was one or several delegates, it would seem, with episcopal powers, but under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostle. An account is given of the date and place as well as the occasion of St. Paul's writing to the Thessalonians. The latter centres round the disputed subject of the resurrection from the dead and the last Judgment. This topic is further developed in the Appendix, so that the reader gets a good account of the *status quaestionis,* whereby the exegetical difficulties that have so long puzzled students of St. Paul's theology are smoothed away. In his interpretation the author largely follows P. Prat's admirable French work on the subject. The text of the Epistle is divided so as to give the reader an intelligent survey of the general argument.

The typography is clear and agreeable, and the footnotes add important light to the interpretation. As to the general merits of the series and its availability for practical use we must await the appearance of other parts before forming a definite judgment. The translators engaged are known to differ widely in their style of writing and in quality of scholarship. To unify these elements will be no small task. All well-wishers of the scheme to produce a true English version with due regard to idiomatic differences of language

of the inspired writers, will look with interest for the continuation of the work.

Since the editors make a special disclaimer of not wishing to give a substitute for the old and familiar Douay Bible, but aim rather to furnish students (chiefly the clergy and the educated laity) with a suitable edition for study, would it not be as well to say a brief word on the authenticity and canonicity of the parts, for the questionings on these subjects are becoming more and more the common property of all intelligent readers of sacred literature? The way for the gradual substitution of a more perfect translation of the Bible than the Douay version would thus be paved, and we think wisely; for the Vulgate itself is clamoring for revision. Thus the spirit of the Council of Trent in this matter is being interpreted by a sane and a feasible practice.

**THE BOOK OF HYMNS WITH TUNES. Edited by Samuel Gregory Ould, O.S.B., and William Sewell, A.R.A.M. London. 1913.**

The texts of the *Book of Hymns* were published three years ago in a very neat and portable volume, small in size, compact, attractive in format. The thin paper of the present volume of 572 pages (cloth) permits the inclusion of texts and tunes of 277 hymns within the covers of a small volume such as is naturally desired for use in the services of the church. Meanwhile, the printing is clear and the engraving of the music is attractive, deep black in impression and not too closely packed for easy reading. So much for the externals of the *Book of Hymns*—not a negligible matter in the case of a hymn book.

The editing has been done apparently with very great care and success. Dom Ould combines literary power and appreciation with a well-approved musical ability. The volume has indexes of Subjects, Metres, Authors, Composers, First Lines. The compiling of these last three indexes must have been a task of no small magnitude, in view of the general disregard of such important details by our hymnal editors in the past. Good work has been done in this line, it is true, by Dr. Tozer (in his *Catholic Church Hymnal*) and Dr. Terry (in his *Westminster Hymnal*), but our American hymnal editors have not given sufficient attention to such important matters, and we must therefore welcome with gratitude and lively appreciation the efforts of our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic to meet the hymnological needs of English-speaking Catholics in this regard.

A real catholicity is evidenced in the selection of the texts and the tunes. There are eighty-five entries of different composers, and one

hundred and nineteen entries of different authors in the appropriate indexes. Not a few tunes are taken from German, French, and Italian hymn books. Dom Ould contributes six hymns and twenty-three tunes, and Mr. Sewell, his co-editor, eighteen tunes. In general, the melodies in the volume impress us as dignified and churchly without being tame or tuneless, and the harmonization is carefully done in pure hymnal manner.

The texts cover all needs of the church year and of special occasions. A highly interesting feature is the large number of translations from ancient, medieval and modern Latin authors from St. Ambrose to Leo XIII (this last being an English versified rendering of the prayer to St. Michael recited daily after low Mass, which is a finished piece of work that we should wish might replace the cumbrous English prose translation in vogue). The ample range of translators drawn upon is an enlightening and gratifying exhibit for Catholic eyes.

We think it would have been better to have indicated in the texts themselves, rather than in a prefatory note, the repetitions necessary for eking out the melodies in the few cases where these occur; and, in this connexion, we permit ourselves to express a wish that the cumbersome and hardly rhythmical refrain of Hymn 114 had either been much simplified or entirely omitted. Hymn 9 requires a repetition not noted in the foreword to the volume. The Adeste Fideles is printed only in the Latin text (eight stanzas)—doubtless a judgment of the editor that no adequate and singable translation of it in English exists; and the words are very carefully placed under the tune, stanza after stanza—an important matter in the case of this very irregular hymn.

Editors of Catholic hymn books hesitate to use the file in removing poor rhyme or unsuitable rhythm; but we think that the interests of the melody and of the congregation that must sing it are here paramount. Although Hymn 12 is by Caswall, we nevertheless regret the rhyming of "dawn" with "morn" in the refrain, the more so as it must be heard after everyone of the seven stanzas. Similarly, stanza 5 of Hymn 13 rhymes "song" with "Dominum"; and Hymn 67 (an anonymous translation of the Anima Christi) concludes by rhyming "ay" (meaning "ever") with "high". Hymn 51, also, abounds in false or assonantal rhyme and no-rhyme (in places where the scheme calls for rhyme): "make me" and "create me", "redeem me" and "save me", "descended" and "cleansèd", "saved me" and "serve Thee".

We think the file would have had a justifiable use also in smoothing the metre in several places. Thus in Hymn 29 the opening

words of lines 9, 10 ("Fully" and "David") have the musical accent on the second syllable, while still further unpleasant clashes occur in this hymn between the rhythmical license granted to poets and the musical exactions of the tune. Hymn 26 (a translation of the Adoro Te) uses both masculine and feminine rhymes for feminine melodic cadences. Are there not translations of this hymn which use no such metrical liberty, and yet render the Latin text with sufficient grace and exactness? Hymn 100 has the first seven lines in each stanza in iambic pentameter, but incontinently bursts out, in each eighth line, into dactylic tetrameter—a metrical extravagance skilfully hidden by the tune. One might well hesitate to amend, even for hymnal ends and needs, Cardinal Wiseman's hymn (No. 106), and yet it offers several very unpleasant clashes of metrical and musical accent. On the other hand, an example of excellent editing is furnished by Hymn 163 (a translation of the Stabat Mater), in which the versions of several pens have been combined to form a single version having a single proper scheme of rhythm. Hymn 79 is apparently a very popular one. Five of the six stanzas preserve the rhythmic scheme:

To Jesus' Heart all burning
With fervent love of men,
My heart with fondest yearning
Shall raise its joyful strain.

An exception to this scheme is stanza 2:

O Heart, for me on fire
With love no tongue can speak,
My yet untold desire
God gives me for Thy sake.

The tune compels the congregation to sing "fi-er" and "desi-er". The stanza should be amended or omitted. The hymn abounds in merely "permissible" rhymes ("strain" and "men", "speak" and "sake", "sin" and "again", "dove" and "prove", "done" and "own"). Hymn 80 ("I rise from dreams of time") seems also to have proved a popular hymn. But it might well have been omitted, as it is sentimental, rhythmically irregular and difficult to handle melodically, and opens with a poor echoing of Shelley's "Indian Serenade". But the devotion to the Sacred Heart has not been favored with many good hymns.

It is a source of gratification to the reviewer to have found, in such a large collection of hymns, so few blemishes as those noted above —if, indeed, they may be called blemishes. H. T. H.

**VESPERALE ROMANUM** excerptum ex Antiphonali S. R. E. jussu SS. D. N. PII X. Pontificis Maximi restituto et edito. Editio Ratisbonensi juxta Vaticanam. Pustet: 1913. (832 pp. leather.)

The volume contains not only Vespers but Complin as well, for all Sundays, feasts, ferias, together with Offices peculiar to certain places—a complete Vesperal, for service throughout the ecclesiastical year. The typography is excellent, the heavy jet black impression serving admirably for use in the sometimes feeble light of churches, for the facile reading of both the notes and the Latin texts; while the cream-tint of the paper, the elegant engraving of the notes, the red edges of the volume and the strong binding make an attractive and very serviceable volume. It is one of the best issues of a press which has always been noted for its output of elegantly printed liturgical books. H. T. H.

**SOCIAL RENEWAL.** By George Sandeman. London: William Heinemann. 1913. Pp. 150.

Books treating of social renewal fall broadly into three groups: those that deal with principles; those that offer ways and means; those that seek to unite theory with practice. To the first of these categories belongs the volume before us. And be it noted, the work —and a *work* it is, though small in compass—has to do with "the renewal", not with "the reformation" of society. It is not a mere reshaping, whether of the outer or the inner constitution of the social organism; but a revitalizing, a return from senility to youthfulness, a rejuvenation of man's social life—this is the desideratum. But how is this seeming Utopia to be reached? By getting back theoretically to true social principles, and by effectively living up to them. Simple enough surely, as thus stated. But how get complex and wayward humanity to walk by this single road to the ideal? By inducing mankind to see that at heart it is not complex, and is wayward only because it perversely wants to be so—by getting back to the simple life and to love for the brotherhood. Individual selfless simplicity, fraternal charity—herein lies the solution of the social question, and the renewal of society. All easily said, and many times it has been said; but it needs to be said again and again, and to be said in the thoughtful, inspiriting, hopeful way in which it is repeated in the present book.

A perfect awareness of the disorders with which society is affected, an intimate acquaintance with the countless remedies that have been and are being proposed by social reformers—remedies that are generally merely palliatives, affording at best alleviation but no

cure—and above all a deep insight into man's social nature, its constitution, tendencies, motives, and withal a strong healthy optimism pervade the thought throughout the little volume. So strong indeed is this optimism that the author confidently believes "that children now living will see the renewal of our civilization; that youth will come again in place of senility, 'the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness'." The basis of this confidence is "the fact that the contrary movement has proceeded to a point at which it has become intolerable to human nature. Of this the enormous flood of discontent . . . is only one of several kinds of evidence. In every respect—physical, nervous, economic, intellectual, moral, spiritual—humanity cannot any longer stand the strain and the oppression, the emptiness and dreariness and cruelty of a virtually atheistic civilization and social system." This is one fact; the other is that "the powers of regeneration, the sources of youth and vitality which have renewed society in the past, are eternally the same and cannot fail" (p. 147). There are obvious difficulties, of course, confronting this halcyon outlook. These Mr. Sandeman foresees and answers satisfactorily, no doubt, to his own optimistic spirit. Would that all might share in this encouraging spirit and the vision it so brightly favors!

One of the author's controlling ideas is "the realist theory of society"—the idea namely that society is not merely "a sum of its constituent individuals", but "a real, organic, living thing with a design of its own and principles of its own . . . " (p. 33). Doubtless this is the true conception of society. On the other hand it is possible to overstate the intimacy of man's embodiment in the living social organism. It seems an exaggeration to say, for instance, that "to this higher life [the life of society] than his a man belongs more closely than to mother and father or to wife and children, and to them only because to it. In real society he is one with all the others, past, present, and to come, with a concrete, vital, inward unity . . . The individual is utterly dependent [on society] and insufficient; in himself he is nothing and owes all. Together with all his fellows he is immersed in a common life which is from far above them all, opulent, wholesome, infinitely recuperative," etc. Sociality is indeed a necessary "property", not an essential constituent of man's nature. Its effectual expression engenders society, the life of which is not higher than the life of the individual, but is a providential means to the completing and perfecting of the latter. And indeed this is just what Mr. Sandeman elsewhere asserts: "Social welfare cannot be a true end of endeavor because human society is itself not an end, but is a means to the fulfillment of personal life; and in proportion as this, its immediate purpose, is for-

gotten so that the interests of personal life are subordinated to the collective needs of the community, or to the will of the majority, in that same proportion must liberty pass away from our land, and with liberty, all hope of social renewal" (p. 142).

The author writes with his eye on the economic and social conditions prevailing in England, where all manner of palliatives for social ills—pensions, insurance, and the rest—have been tried. However, he is treating mainly of remedial *principles*, and the disorders to which they apply are as wide as present-day civilization. The chief of these principles is *cohesion*, and "cohesion is the first condition of all human society and is in itself sufficient to heal all social ills and to bring forth all social fruits. . . Moreover, it has to be sought for its own sake [relatively speaking; see page 141]; no legislative adjustments, nor economic changes, nor anything of lower order than its own can restore charity" (p. 76). This liberation of charity was once effected by early Christianity, which "renovated human life in all its relations and interests to a freshness like that of a summer dawn" (p. 139). The same power is still at work in humanity, and upon it primarily must depend the renewal of society. This is Mr. Sandeman's leading thesis and he develops it with a wealth of suggestive ideas clothed in a style that is both virile and graceful.

**THE CURE OF ALCOHOLISM.** By Austin O'Malley, Ph.D., LL.D. St. Louis, Mo. London and Freiburg: B. Herder. Pp. 318.

Our readers are already familiar with Dr. O'Malley's work, not merely as a controversialist and critic of methods that are unsound, whether in medicine or in ethics, but likewise as a scientist alive to the moral and religious interests of the present generation, to whom the field of theology is as familiar as that of physics. Thus in applying the remedies that are to cure the ills of the body he takes account of those sources of disease which lie hidden in the will. Since sickness is usually the symptom of ill-regulated passions, either immediate or antecedent, as in the case of heredity, the cure of disease must trace the evil to that weakness of the will which permits, or that malice which urges, it to surrender the body to the service of sin. As a physician he seeks not merely to mend the instrument of action, but to strengthen the force that moves it.

In the present work Dr. O'Malley applies his method of treatment to those who suffer from the effects of alcoholism. The system is not new, of course, since it is recognized in the whole moral code of Catholic teaching, in the use of the sacraments, and in the principles of Catholic reform; but the modern tendency toward

specialization has made us lose sight of the more essential requisite by which to effect the cure of our social evils, one and all. Drugs and purely mechanical applications to the organism have taken the place of training the interior faculties which give it vitality, and we expect evils to be radically removed by amputation of a limb, rather than by restoring the right use of the limb. In the matter of alcoholism the effects are of such a nature that surgery cannot as a rule reach them, and if we apply external means to neutralize the effects of stimulants, it is too often nothing more than shifting the position of the irritant, a process which procures a new sensation without procuring relief or cure. To effect a true cure of the habit of drunkenness we must put the drunkard in the way of acquiring the virtue which will beget the habit of deliberate resistance to the temptation to drink. To this end medicine will do something for the drunkard. It will eliminate the physical poison which tends to weaken the organism and prevents it from offering a fair opportunity to the renewal of moral strength. Accordingly this physical treatment must precede the moral, and free the patient from the impediments which his physically injured condition presents to the effective operation of the moral treatment.

The volume naturally falls into two parts. In the first the author deals with the physical symptoms and the medical treatment required to put the patient into a proper physical condition for the real and permanent cure of the habit of alcoholism. This permanent cure is brought about by the moral treatment. To this latter he devotes the second half of the book.

The author consistently addresses himself to both physicians and priests. He furnishes the latest summary results of the study of alcoholism and its medical cure. The reader will find a sufficiently clear outline of the pathology of alcoholism to serve him in gauging the effects of over-indulgence in stimulants, which nature intended to be employed only under exceptional conditions. The priest obtains moreover a pertinent and complete indication of the medical remedies that tend to withdraw the drunkard from his self-destructive habit. Of particular value to the clerical student and pastor is the chapter that deals with the morality of general anesthesia. Therein much that supplements our pastoral theology may be discovered. An appendix treats briefly of morphinism, cocainism, and other drug addictions which require treatment similar to that of alcoholism. The book needs to be in every well-appointed private library of pastor and physician, as it adds a distinctly new and important chapter to pastoral medical theology.

**VOX TEMPORIS.** Der Volksverein—Documents sur l'Union Populaire pour l'Allemagne catholique. 8° (104) Volksverein, M. Gladbach (Allemagne), (or Brussels: Misch & Thron).

The German "Volksverein" is endeavoring to teach its lessons of organization to other nations. *Vox Temporis* is a collection of rules, statistics, illustrations, and experiences which are intended to serve the readers of French as a guide in social action and as a help toward popular union among Catholics. It outlines methods of organization, with statistics of results. The total number of members of the Verein is at present nigh to 800,000, the growth within one year (1912-1913) being 47,240. The most marked features of operation are the establishment of popular Catholic libraries and reading rooms, the organization of men's guilds, and the interest taken in the interpreting of the Catholic position to the intelligent workmen. The activity that utilizes the influence of the home and of women is well exemplified by the establishment of "Women's Auxiliaries", which at the end of last summer counted 26,786 active members. There is a breadth about the whole movement which commends it to all nationalities, without exception, in which Catholics have to struggle for the maintenance of their religious prerogatives. The critic might balk at the occasionally exclusive terminology of the German methods, and wish that German names had been translated into more conventional forms. But as we have got used to "Kulturkampf" and "Weltgeist" and similar expressions, and as the "Volksverein" is so eminently a pattern of right Catholic activity, this peculiarity may not be an objection in the eyes of any but literary critics. At all events we have much to learn from the movement, and *Vox Temporis* helps us to understand and appreciate it more and more.

**JUS DECRETALIUM** ad usum Praelectionum in scholis textus canonici. sive Juris Decretalium. Auctore Francisco Xav. Wernz, S.J. Tom. VI. Jus Poenale Ecclesiae Catholicae. Prati: Ex Officina Libr. Giachetti, Filii et Soc. 1913. Pp. 478.

The *Jus Decretalium* of the eminent Jesuit General has for some years been the standard of ecclesiastical jurisprudence taught in the ecclesiastical schools of Rome. The four volumes published in a revised edition down to the year 1911 included, beside the general Introduction, the matter dealing with the constitution and administration of the Catholic Church and the *Jus matrimoniale.* What was still needed to make the work complete as a summary text of the *Corpus Juris* of the Church was the section *De Judiciis eccles-*

*iasticis contentiosis et criminalibus,* and the matter *De Jure Poenali.* The former is being prepared and will probably appear before the end of next year. The latter is now at hand and covers the subject of penal jurisprudence within the jurisdiction of the Church. Fr. Peter Vidal, who succeeded Fr. Wernz in the chair of Canon Law at the Gregorian University when the latter was elected General of his Order, in editing the work, had merely to arrange and revise the MS., in harmony with the method of the preceding volumes. The author presents the subject-matter in three principal sections introduced by the customary "Prolegomena". The latter defines the nature and scope, and points out the material and literary sources of the study of ecclesiastical penal law. Then follows the part treating of "Delicta Ecclesiastica in Genere", and the application of the penal law to such "delicta". The second section examines the nature of ecclesiastical punishments, punitive and corrective, together with the penal remedies or penances attached to censures and absolutions. The third part treats of delinquencies and their penalties in detail, grouping them under the head of "Delicta contra fidem, contra religionem, contra ecclesiasticam auctoritatem, contra vitam et corpus hominum, contra bonam fortunam, contra honorem et bonam famam." A further section treats of these matters when they refer to members of the clergy exclusively.

**MARY THE MOTHER OF JESUS, IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.** Biblical Theological Addresses by the Right Rev. Dr. Aloys Schaefer, Bishop of Dresden, Saxony. Translated from the second German edition by the Very Rev. Ferdinand Brossart, V. G., Covington, Ky. Frederick Pustet and Co.: Ratisbon, Rome, New York, and Cincinnati. 1913. Pp. 271.

**MARIA, DIE LIEBE UND WONNE DES MENSCHENGESCHLECHTES.** Den Marianischen Congregationen besonders gewidmet von P. Philibert Seeboeck, O. F. M. Innsbruck: Felician Rauch (L. Pustet). 1913. Pp. 188.

Filial affection based upon reverence is a link in the chain that binds us to God. In an analogous way devotion to the Mother of Jesus binds us to Christ as the Son of God, our Redeemer and Judge. Hence that devotion has become an integral part of the religious life of the Church. Whilst the Gospels contain very little about Our Blessed Lady, and that little gathered for us by one who was not an immediate disciple of Christ, the devout mind of the Fathers of the Church and of ascetical writers interprets the words of Holy Writ in the spirit of the Church which takes the place of

the apostolic teachers, throughout the centuries. These interpreters have found innumerable prophetic allusions and echoes in the inspired words of the Old and New Testaments which picture for us the fair image of the Virgin Mother of the Messias, under whose guardianship the Saviour of mankind was to pass the greater part of His earthly life.

Dr. Schaefer, while lecturer at the University of Muenster, conceived the fruitful idea of gathering these pertinent passages of Scripture under different heads so as to illustrate the dogmatic teaching of the Church concerning the Mother of Christ in her virginal conception and life. He thus outlines for us in didactic, yet attractive, form the prerogatives of Mary in her character as Mother of the Son of God made Flesh, in her special gifts as the one Woman "full of grace," and as the coöperating mediatrix in the work of man's Redemption. This he has done by a process of analytical exegesis in harmony with the dogmatic teaching of the Church and in such a way as to offer the reader material for solid reflection, and, in the case of priests, for conferences and sermons. Vicar General Brossart, whose labors in making German pastoral and ascetical literature accessible to English and American readers have established for him a recognized place of merit as an intelligent interpreter, has done his work in this case with singular tact and fidelity to the spirit of the original. The book, which is well printed and beautifully bound in blue and gold, has an analytical index and reference pages to the Scriptural passages cited in the volume.

*Maria*, by Fr. Seeboeck, is a collection of seventy-two stories of devotion to Our Blessed Lady as illustrated in the lives of the great, ancient and modern. It is not only fresh and suitable reading for sodalists, but also a repertory of interesting material for those who have to speak to sodalities or preach in honor of Our Blessed Lady. It will do good service to priests in German parishes during May and October.

**NOMENCLATOR LITERARIUS THEOLOGIAE CATHOLICAE, theologos exhibens aetate, natione, disciplinis distinctos. Tomus E. Edidit et commentariis auxit H. Hurter, S.J. Cum Approbatione debita. Editio III aucta et emendata. Pars II: Theologiae Catholicae Aetas Recens, complectens theologos novissimos. Ab Anno 1870—1910. Oeniponte: Libraria Academica Wagneriana. 1913.**

This latest volume of Fr. Hurter's contains brief biographical sketches of the eminent theological writers of the last forty years.

as well as chronological tables of the different branches of study in which each writer excelled. The student is supplied with information about the work of each writer, and also a ready survey for any given period of the prominent authors in scholastic theology (philosophy), polemical and positive theology, patrology, Church history, pastoral theology and ecclesiastical literature in general. There is an exhaustive *Index rerum*, as well as a full *Index theologorum*.

**BREVIOR SYNOPSIS THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE. Auctore Ad. Tanquerey, cooperantibus E. M. Quevastre et L. Hebert. Desclee & Socii, Romae, Tornaci, Parisiis. 1913. Pp. 680.**

Father Tanquerey understands the needs of missionary priests, and his method of teaching in preparing them for their work in the seminary is sure to commend itself to the professor of dogmatic theology. The *Brevior Synopsis* of Moral Theology has already proved that it answers a practical need, and we would recommend the present volume as a most acceptable text-book for theological students in America. It is the nearest approach to a complete handbook that the professor may follow without wasting the valuable time of his students. We have pleaded for this sort of text in missionary seminaries; and the answer comes at least for two important branches of our theological curriculum in the form of these summaries. They are moreover up to date in matters that relate to apologetic theology. Other similar attempts to summarize dogmatic and moral theology, such as that by Cardinal Vives, have failed in this that they cover only part of the ground, or are merely statements of facts and doctrines. Here we have an organically disposed survey of the entire field, including both general and special theology. The professor who wishes to enlarge on his subject finds ample indication of further development, and he may easily supplement the concise, yet complete, treatment of the fundamental themes by referring to the larger works which have served us hitherto as compendiums of Dogmatic Science.

The typography and division of the matter into paragraphs are excellent, and the indications of references show a wide knowledge of the pertinent literature.

Let our students try this book and see if they do not get clearer notions of theology, and that in much shorter time than by the old method of interminable polemics and references to issues that have a purely speculative and historical significance and ought to be reserved for the post-graduate courses at the University.

# Literary Chat.

It was true priestly zeal that prompted the compilation of the tiny booklet *Catholic Soldiers' and Sailors' Companion*. None more than they who follow the flag, whether on sea or field, need the truths of religion to keep them firm amidst the many temptations to which their state of life is singularly exposed, and as Dr. Chidwick, who speaks with much experience in these matters, says in his neat preface, "the present little volume will serve to maintain and further strengthen and exalt the ideals of our soldiers and our man-o-war's men," and thus keep them loyal to God and therefore to country. The booklet contains brief counsels adapted to the soldier's and sailor's circumstances, as well as pertinent prayers. Perhaps the prayers chosen for Holy Communion might have been made more direct and personal. It would have been gracious if Father McGrath who is both the compiler and the publisher (363 East 145th Street, New York) had given due credit to the German booklet *Wer da*, whence he drew both inspiration and matter.

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*My Prayerbook*, "a Manual for School Children," by Fr. Lawrence Hoyt, O.S.B., and *Child's Prayer Book*, by Fr. Roderick McEachen, are the latest efforts to supply our little ones with a suitable manual of devotion. Both contain the chief prayers in use among Catholics. Fr. McEachen's manual is printed in bold type, and has a formula of renewal of Baptismal Vows. But there is no reason for the heading "Saint Bernard's Prayer to the Blessed Virgin", for St. Bernard had nothing to do with the composition of the "Memorare", though at one time there was a general belief that he had originated it.

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Canon Sheehan writes somewhere of the Feasts of Our Lady as flying "like the lights on a line of railroad. Let us watch them well, making them *landmarks of grace* upon our great journey to eternity." The words here emphasized have given the title to a small volume recently compiled from various approved sources by "a member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo". Extracts, both in prose and verse, are woven into a garland to enwreath Our Lady's Feasts, while many a bright flower is entwined to commemorate her special favors or privileges. (Benziger Bros., New York.)

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Catholic students of social questions feel sorely the lack of a periodical devoted specifically to their particular pursuits. We have no such organ in the English language to discuss social problems from a Catholic viewpoint. Fortunately those who read French enjoy a splendid help in the International Catholic Review entitled *Le Mouvement Social* (Action Populaire, Rheims; Lecoffre, Paris). The July number contains an article in English entitled *English Socialism of To-day* by Mr. Henry Somerville. It is a thoughtful and well-informed essay. The writer declares that "Socialism is a declining force in England and no signs of a revival can be seen. Yet the social problem remains more acute than ever! A solution must be found, but I would not like to attempt any prophecy as to the nature of the solution that will be adopted in England." Would that the longed-for solution both there and with us might follow the principles laid down in Mr. George Sandeman's inspiring little volume *Social Renewal*, elsewhere reviewed in the present number.

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One of the stock arguments of Socialists is that the early Christian Fathers taught their doctrines. The charge has been thoroughly discussed and answered by Dr. John A. Ryan in a small volume entitled *Alleged Socialism of the Church Fathers* (B. Herder, St. Louis. Pp. 81). The booklet comprises all the important passages cited by Socialists, as well as "typical extracts from *all* the strongest statements made by *all* the Fathers on the question of

private wealth". The volume is thus at once an answer to the Socialist allegation and a complete summary of Patristic teaching on private property.

The Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ending 30 June, 1912, is a document full of valuable information. The presentation, at the very opening of the first volume, of the heads of criticism that have recently been directed against the public school system by competent judges, deserves the attention no less of the friends than of the opponents of that system. One misses, however, in the summary of arraignments the objection that tells most strongly against a Godless plan of education, namely, its moral or rather immoral consequences. The other, chiefly the intellectual deficiencies, are accidental to the system and may with no substantial alteration be corrected or supplied; but the immoral entailments are *per se* the inevitable effects of the system. However, it fell not within the purview of the framers of the Report to mention the grounds of criticism upon this head.

The statistics relative to our Catholic schools were compiled by Mr. Herbert F. Wright, Instructor at the Catholic University, Washington, and are as accurate and as full as the sources of information (chiefly the *Official Catholic Directory* and the Catholic Educational Bulletins) permit. It may be worth mentioning here that the total enrollment of "children in Catholic institutions" in 1912 was 1,593,316, an (official) increase of some 53,000 over 1911. It may also be interesting to note that the statistics for Catholic "private high schools and academies were: 755 schools, 3,794 instructors, 41,079 students. For other denominational institutions (Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian only are given) the figures are: 94 schools, 727 instructors, 10,047 students.

The Report gives a full account of the various summer schools throughout the country. The Catholic institutions of the kind, however, are omitted. This is unfortunate.

Most of Alice Meynell's poetry (Chas. Scribner's Sons) will be caviare to the average reader. Its exclusiveness is not merely due to the personal note which pervades the "Preludes", but to her manner of treating subjects around her. The texture of her thought is always fine, as is also its grain; but the weaving is intricate and the figures are often in patterns which a delicate fancy constructs from clouds in the heavens. Renunciation is often the dominant note of the charm of her thought, and nature speaks to her and through her with a voice that invites to introspection. Her intellect sees in God's will the effulgence of His love. Yet through all this verse there runs the echo of a strange aloofness which she interprets as existing in the creatures whom she would love, whereas it is the poet herself who stands upon too high a plane to reach down to them. It would be difficult to quote any single poem to give the reader not already familiar with Mrs. Meynell's genius a true idea of her gift and manner, and we merely repeat for the lesson it conveys to the Catholic heart the following under the head of "The Unknown God".

"One of the crowd went up,
And knelt before the Paten and the Cup,
Received the Lord, returned in peace, and prayed
Close to my side; then in my heart I said:

"O Christ, in this man's life—
This stranger who is Thine—in all his strife,
All his felicity, his good or ill,
In the assaulted stronghold of his will,

"I do confess Thee here,
Alive within this life; I know Thee near
Within this lonely conscience, closed away
Within this brother's solitary day.

"Christ in his unknown heart,
His intellect unknown—this love, this art,
This battle and this peace, this destiny
That I shall never know, look upon me.

"Christ in his numbered breath,
Christ in his beating heart and in his death,
Christ in his mystery. From that secret place
And from that separate dwelling, give me grace."

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The *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, that admirable periodical of Catholic culture conducted by the Jesuit Fathers in Germany (B. Herder, Freiburg), now in its eighty-fifth volume, publishes an Index of its third series, embracing Volumes 51 to 75 (and Volumes 18 to 25 of the Supplements). The Index covers 716 pages and consists of a list of the authors and the titles of their contributions, besides a list of the criticisms of books, and a general topical and nominal index. The price of the book is $3.25, which is insignificant considering the immense labor involved and the practical value of the *Register* as a source of reference for the use of writers, speakers, and others interested in Catholic apologetics.

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Father P. J. Donovan, of Hamilton, Ontario, has published (Thos. Anderson) a pleasing and not at all difficult air to the *O Salutaris*.

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*The Story of Mary Dunne* by Mrs. Frances Blundell (Longmans, Green & Co.) points out the danger for Irish girls emigrating to England, of falling into the hands of agents of the "white slave traffic". The story is well told, though the moral, it seems to us, is urged in a somewhat artificial and strained fashion. One can hardly realize as a fact the over-scrupulous attitude and advice of the parish priest who needlessly exposes the misfortune of the wholly innocent girl to her lover and family for the sole purpose of having the outrage avenged by having it made public. If vice is thus branded, virtue, which can never be lost by mere misfortune, is made to pay a double penalty of sacrifice and degradation, and this through the oversensitiveness of a pastor who would be expected to protect his children from needless scandal.

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Sister Mary Wilfrid la Motte, of the Loretto Motherhouse, Kentucky, has enriched the "hortus conclusus" of Catholic poetry by her attractive *Flowers of the Cloister*. There are genuine culture and genial grace in the thoughts here presented in rhyme. The love of Jesus and Mary is the central theme of these songs, though they take their occasion and coloring from the cloistral surroundings of the nun such as the convent garden, the chapel, the classroom, her visits to shrines at home and abroad, the memories of friends, saints canonized and to be, her pupils, etc. The "Legend of Antioch", a tale of the East, would readily lend itself to dramatic setting. (Benziger Bros.)

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*Christ's Cadets* is the title of a neat volume by Fr. C. C. Martindale, S.J., which inaugurates an English "Sodalists' Library". As such it appropriately contains biographical sketches of that trinity of saintly youths, St. Aloysius, St. Stanislaus, and St. John Berchmans, who have become the typical representatives of religious dedication to the service of Our Blessed Lady. It may be said that in our day the military spirit that inspires the Society of Jesus adapts itself with a new significance to the genius of our modern youth as it manifests itself in such movements as the Boy-Scout organization, with its revival in our age of that old-time sense of chivalry once so fruitful of natural and supernatural virtue. Let our boys march under the banner of Our Lady and train themselves in the quality of Christian self-denial shown in the lives of these "Cadets" of Christ. Father Edmund Lester writes a spirited Preface to the book which indicates a fresh vitalizing of the Sodality spirit originated and supported by the zeal of the sons of St. Ignatius. (Benziger Bros.)

For the benefit of inquiring pastors who wish to study the Boy-Scout methods as in use in the United States at present, we may mention that a reliable edition of the Official Handbook for Boys may be had under the title of *Boy Scouts of America* (Doubleday, Page and Co., New York). The book contains not only the laws and customs of Scoutcraft, but also a chapter on Patriotism and Citizenship, another on First Aid and Life Saving, with many useful hints of a practical nature. A proper adaptation of all that is good and helpful in the system should commend itself to every priest who has at heart the welfare of our youth, many of whom are being attracted by the good features of the Boy-Scout movement, and this at times at a sacrifice of what is infinitely more important than health of body or patriotism.

"The Beatification of an Indian priest would without doubt," writes the Most Rev. Ladislas Michel, late Apostolic Delegate of the East Indies, "give a new impulse to the missions in the Indies." With this thought in mind he has published a brief biographical sketch of Fr. Joseph Vaz, the Apostle of Ceylon who labored in that island during the last half of the seventeenth century. The process of Beatification was begun soon after his death, but was subsequently abandoned. In 1894 Archbishop Michel made a report regarding the cultus of the holy Oratorian to the S. Congregation. Three hundred copies were printed for private circulation. The biographical part has been translated by Fr. Ambrose Cator of the London Oratory. It is wholesome reading. The statement that the saintly missionary "added upward of thirty thousand convents from the heathen" is no doubt due to the printer's misdirected zeal.

Among the annuals sent us the *Regensburger Marien-Kalender* (Pustet and Co.) and *Der Familienfreund* (St. Louis, Herold des Glaubens) maintain their excellence. The former will publish its golden jubilee number next year, and the latter will then be thirty years old. Both are deservedly popular among the Germans. The editors of *St. Anthony's Almanac* issue a German and Polish edition of their year book. The contents, like those of the English edition, contain contributions by some prominent scholars and churchmen in America, such as Fr. Paschal Robinson, Dr. James J. Walsh, Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, Mgr. O'Hara and others, and are well worth reading. This kind of literature is not to be held as insignificant, for often it goes into the homes of people who read little else and whose practical Catholicity depends on the impulses given by some chance story in an almanac.

# Books Received.

## SCRIPTURAL.

HOLY LAND AND HOLY WRIT. By the Rev. J. T. Durward, author of *Sonnets of Holy Land, A Primer for Converts, The Building of a Church*, etc. Pilgrim Publishing Co., Baraboo, Wisconsin. 1913. Pp. xiv-786.

DIE ESDRAS BUECHER DER SEPTUAGINTA. Ihr gegenseitiges Verhaeltniss untersucht von Dr. Bernhard Walde. (Biblische Studien von Prof. Dr. O. Bardenhewer, Muenchen. Bd. XVIII, n. 4.) B. Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau und St. Louis, Mo. 1913. Seiten 164. Preis, $1.35.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH THE TRUE CHURCH OF THE BIBLE. By the Very Rev. C. J. O'Connell, Dean St. Joseph's Church, Bardstown, Ky. B. Herder, St. Louis. Pp. 346. Price, $1.25.

## THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

IUS DECRETALIUM ad Usum Praelectionum in Scholis Textus Canonici sive Iuris Decretalium. Auctore Francisco Xav. Wernz, S.I. Tomus VI. Ius Poenale Eccles. Catholicae. Ex Officina Libraria Giachetti, Filii & Soc. 1913. Pp. xiii-479. Pretium, 7 *fr.*

CATHOLIC SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' COMPANION. The Rev. Thomas S. McGrath, 363 E. 145th St., New York. 1913. Pp. 134. Price, $0.35; $0.40 *postpaid.*

LE DÉPLACEMENT ADMINISTRATIF DES CURÉS. Commentaire du Décret "Maxima Cura" (20 Août 1910). Par l'abbé A. Villien, Professeur a l'Institut catholique de Paris. P. Lethielleux, Paris. 1913. Pp. viii-287. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

MARIA DIE LIEBE UND WONNE DES MENSCHENGESCHLECHTES. In schönen Zügen aus dem Leben grosser Verehrer der sel. Jungfrau. Den Marianischen Kongregationem besonders gewidmet von P. Philibert Seeböck, O.F.M. Mit Gutheissung des f. b. Ordinariates Brixen und Erlaubnis der Ordensobern. F. Rauch, Innsbruck; Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. 1913. Seiten 188. Preis, $0.65.

OUR CATHOLIC SISTERHOODS. By the Rev. Ambrose Reger, O.S.B., Sacred Heart Church, Corbin, Kentucky. 1913. Pp. 35. Price, $0.05 per copy; 20 copies, $0.50; 50. $1.00.

MY PRAYERBOOK. A Manual for Children. By the Rev. Lawrence Hoyt, O.S.B. Mission Press of the Society of the Divine Word, Techny, Illinois. Pp. 120.

LANDMARKS OF GRACE, or The Feasts of Our Blessed Lady. Compiled by a Member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo. Benziger Bros., New York. 1913. Pp. x-230. Price, $0.90 *net.*

LE COURAGE DU CHRIST. Par Henry C. Schuyler, S.T.L. Traduit de l'anglais par F.-J. Bonnassieux. (*Les Vertus du Christ.* I.) 1913. Pp. 173. P. Lethielleux, Paris. 1913.

DER MANN NACH DEM HERZEN JESU. Vorträge des zweiten schweizerischen Herz-Jesu-Kongresses (gehalten vom 19.-21. August 1912 in Einsiedeln). Herausgegeben von J. Hättenschwiller, S.J., Redakteur des Sendboten des göttl. Herzens Jesu. Felizian Rauch (L. Pustet), Innsbruck; Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. 1913. Seiten 140. Preis, $0.55.

AUS ZEIT UND LEBEN. Ein Buch noch nicht edirter zuverlaessiger Beispiele und Zitate fuer Prediger, Konferenzredner, Katecheten und Erzieher. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Otto Haettenschwiller. Fr. Pustet & Co., Regensburg, Rome und New York. 1913. Seiten 572. Preis, $1.65.

SAINT RITA'S TREASURY. A Book of Pious Exercises in the Spirit of St. Rita of Cascia. By the Rev. Andrew Klarmann, A.M. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 270. Price, bound, $0.75.

## LITURGICAL.

LA LITURGIE CATHOLIQUE. Essai de Synthèse suivi de Quelques Dèveloppements. Par Dom M. Festugière, Moine Bénédictin. Extrait de la *Revue de Philosophie,* No. de mai-juin-juillet 1913: "L'Expérience religieuse dans le Catholicisme." 2e. série, pp. 692-886. Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgique. 1913. Pp. 200. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

MESSA A TRE VOCI D'UOMO (Tenore I, Tenore II e Basso). Con Accompagnamento d'Organo. In Onore di Santa Agata del Presb. P. Branchina, Direttore della Schola Cantorum di Siracusa (Italia). Opus 40. Edizione Fischer 3705. J. Fischer & Bro., New York. 1913. Pp. 32. Prezzo: partitura, $0.80; ciascuna parte di canto, $0.25.

DIE DIAKONEN- UND PRIESTERWEIHE. Nach dem römischen Pontifikale deutsch und lateinisch nebst Weihe-Unterricht. Bearbeitet von Christian Kunz, Priester der Diözese Regensburg. Fr. Pustet, Regensburg, Rom und New York. 1913. Seiten 99. Preis, $0.30.

EPITOME E VESPERALIS ROMANI EDITIONE RATISBONENSI. Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet, Ratisbonae et Romae; Apud Fr. Pustet & Co., Neo Eboraci. 1913. Pp. xx-539. Pretium, $1.35.

INSTRUMENTATIONS-LEHRE. Mit Besonderer Berueecksichtigung der Kirchenmusik. (Sammlung: *Kirchenmusik.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Weinmann.) Fr. Pustet & Co., Regensburg, Rom und New York. 1913. Seiten 256. Preis, geb. $0.60.

PARTITUR BEISPIELE ZUR INSTRUMENTATION'S-LEHRE. Mit besonderer Berueecksichtigung der Kirchenmusik. Von Fr. Hoefer. 1913. Fr. Pustet & Co., Regensburg, Rom und New York. 1913. Seiten 31. Preis, $0.30.

## PHILOSOPHICAL.

PRAELECTIONES PHILOSOPHIAE MORALIS seu Ethica quas Alumnis Instituendis exaravit P. Irenaeus a S. Ioanne Evangelista Congregationis Passionis Presbyter. Volumen Unicum complectens Ethicam et Ius Naturae. Desclee et Socii, Romae. 1913. Pp. vii-430. Pretium, 5 *L.* 50.

VOX TEMPORIS. 1. Der Volksverein. Documents sur l'Union Populaire pour l'Allemagne catholique. 1891-1913. Volksvereins-Verlag GmbH., M. Gladbach. 1913. Pp. 105. Prix, 1 M. (1 *fr.* 25).

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. 1865-1869. By Homer Adolph Stebbins, LL.D., Ph.D. (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.* Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 446. Price, $4.00.

INDIAN SLAVERY IN COLONIAL TIMES. Within the Present Limits of the United States. By Almon Wheeler Lauber, Ph.D. (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.* Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 352. Price, $3.00.

PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Arnold Johnson Lien, Ph.D. (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.* Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 95. Price, $0.75.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

THE STORY OF MARY DUNNE. By M. E. Francis (Mrs. Francis Blundell). Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. 1913. Pp. 312. Price, $1.35 *net.*

THE SEVENTH WAVE AND OTHER SOUL-STORIES. By Constance E. Bishop. R. & T. Washbourne, London; Benziger Bros., New York. 1913. Pp. 228. Price, $1.20 (3/6) *net;* $1.32 *postpaid.*

ON A HILL. A Romance of Sacrifice. By F. M. Capes, author of *A Poet's May,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York. 1913. Pp. 111. Price, $0.50 *net.*

LESSONS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE. By John O'Kane Murray, M.A., M.D. Revised and enlarged by P. J. Lennox, B.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the Catholic University of America. Twenty-first edition. John Murphy Co., Baltimore. 1913. Pp. vi-509.

FAMILIENFREUND. Katholischer Wegweiser fuer das Jahr 1914. Herold des Glaubens (B. Herder), St. Louis. Seiten 112.

A VISION. Romantic Operetta in Five Acts. By the Rev. Andrew Klarmann, A.M. Vocal Score by Charles A. O. Korz. Eight male and four female characters, with chorus of angels, servants, etc., soprano, alto, tenor and basso voices. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 44 and 75. Price: text, $0.25; music, $0.75.

THE KINGDOM. A Novel. By Harold Elsdale Goad. Frederick A. Stokes & Co., New York. 1913. Pp. 336. Price, $1.25.

VENGEANCE IS MINE. A Drama in Four Acts. Containing nineteen male characters and four female characters. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1913. Pp. 44. Price, $0.25.

THE AVERAGE MAN. By Robert Hugh Benson. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1913. Pp. 374. Price, $1.35.

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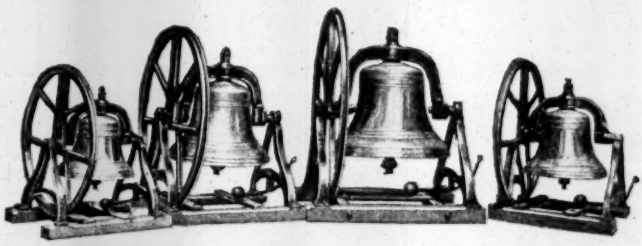

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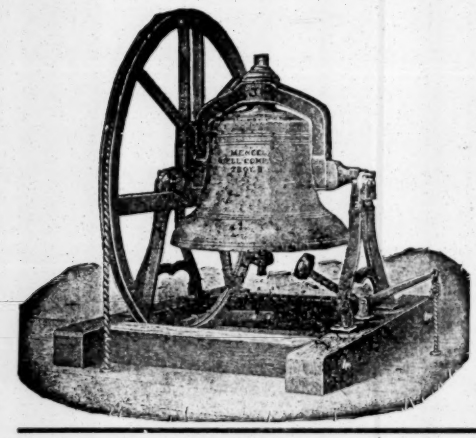

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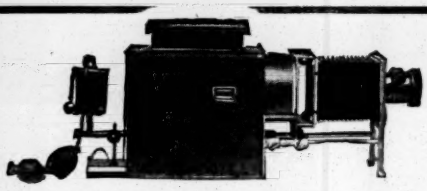

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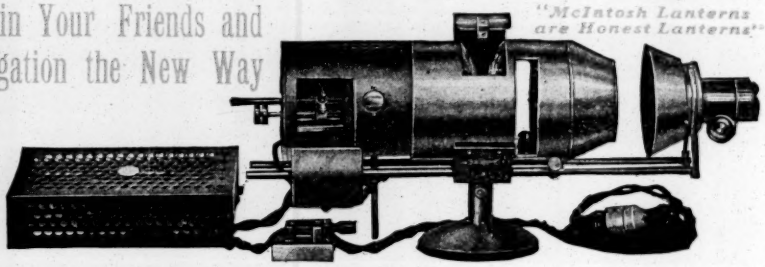

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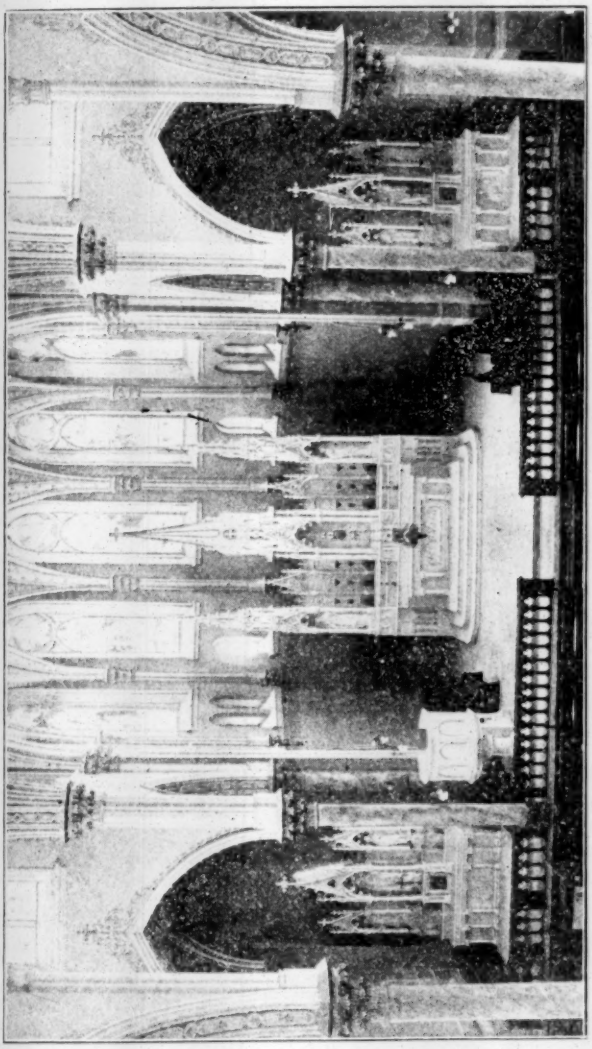

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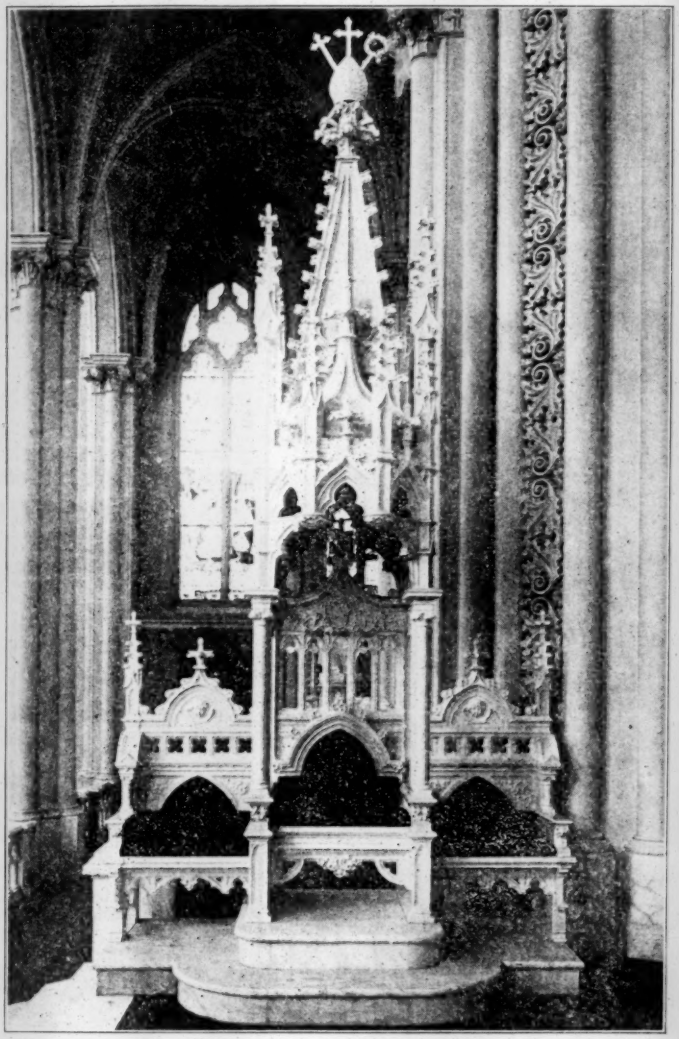

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